

Item

For the first time in seventeen years, that is, for the first time since the end of the first year of Herbert Hoover's administration, the Federal budget has been balanced. When the Treasury closed its books at midnight on June 30, it found that the Government had taken in some \$750,000,000 more during fiscal 1947 than it had spent. During sixteen years of budget deficits, the national debt expanded from \$16 billions to about \$258 billions today. The difference was the cost of the greatest depression and the worst war in our history.

Baruch plan revived

Bernard M. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board under President Wilson and "elder statesman" during World War II, has returned to his favorite theme: planning total national mobilization for defense. Speaking before the Industrial College of the Armed Forces on June 26, Mr. Baruch proposed the enactment of a sixteen-point, work-or-fight mobilization program to go into effect as soon as a war emergency rears its head. The all-out feature of the Baruch plan is to put the clamps on everything at the beginning, from top to bottom of the American economy. In testifying on the OPA bill in 1941 he vigorously opposed the exemption of wages and farm prices from rigid controls. He blames "piecemeal price control" and the too-early lifting of restrictions for the present inflation. He would end "unfair profits" by "an over-all price regulation, tax and savings program," and chides the country for having allocated too much for "wants" instead of "needs" in World War II. Baruch puts universal military training at the top of his sixteen-point plan. While seeing no immediate threat of war, he proclaims the need of national preparedness. Undoubtedly, as General Eisenhower told a closed-door Senate Appropriations subcommittee on June 28, the United States must strengthen its position to exert "pressure for peace." Russia plainly despises our democratic reluctance to gird for war, and trades on that reluctance. We are leading from military weakness in our present foreign policy, and must lay the foundations of greater firmness. False economy in defense is democratic folly.

Reaction to Taft-Hartley Act

To the extreme disappointment of the *Daily Worker* and, seemingly, of the more reactionary sections of the capitalist press, organized labor took the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill in typical American stride. The AFL and CIO announced that they would oppose employer attempts to undermine their organizations, that they would challenge the constitutionality of certain provisions of the new law, that they would strive to defeat every Congressman who voted for it. But both William Green and

Philip Murray scotched the revolutionary idea of a one-day, nation-wide strike, such as the Communists have been advocating. The strike of 50,000 shipyard workers against fifteen East-Coast yards—the only big strike in progress last week—had nothing to do with the Taft-Hartley Act; it was a strictly bread-and-butter proposition and, supposing the intransigent attitude of Bethlehem Steel toward a wage increase, would have occurred anyhow. The initial reaction of two big employer associations, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, made it easier for labor leaders to maintain their equilibrium. The NAM advised its 16,000 member firms "to apply this law in a spirit of moderation and restraint," and the Chamber took a similar stand. This does not mean, of course, that we are entering a period of sweetness and light in industrial relations. Quite the contrary. But it does suggest the possibility that the struggle over the Taft-Hartley Act may be conducted in Congress and the courts, and not on strife-torn picket lines. As we go to press, it appears certain that John L. Lewis and the bulk of the northern coal operators will reach an agreement without another stoppage in the mines. This would have a salutary effect on the whole situation.

Scientists and realists

To make people take a realistic view of the world was the purpose of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists in its statement of June 29. The scientists point out—and they are the ones who know—that atomic bombs are becoming cheaper and more destructive; that ultimately we cannot keep the secret; that there is no defense against them and none to be expected; that "preparedness against atomic war is futile, and if attempted will ruin the structure of our social order"; that atomic war will finish our civilization. This is no time for mincing words; and they do not mince them. The UN Atomic Energy Commission has thus far been a failure, and will continue to fail, because

... representatives of great states . . . have fulfilled their traditional duty to place their own nations in the most advantageous position to win the next war. It is useless to proceed further along this path; one cannot prepare for war and expect peace.

The scientists had hoped that a pattern of international atomic control might be worked out which could later be applied to other spheres of international concern; but "to foster this hope today as we move into a world divided into two armed camps would be a betrayal of our responsibility." The atomic problem can be solved only "within the context of a general agreement which guarantees a reasonable degree of security to all nations and provides for far-reaching economic and cultural cooperation among nations." America, with its great resources,

must take the lead in helping to lift the level of the world's economic life; and must take the lead, also, in bringing about that limitation of national sovereignty without which there cannot be peace. The atomic scientists envisage, in the long run, "the creation of a supra-national government, with powers adequate to the responsibility of maintaining the peace."

We know that the developments of science and technology have determined that the peoples of the world are no longer able to live under competing national sovereignties with war as the final arbitrator.

"Is this realistic?" they ask. We believe with them that "nothing less is realistic."

Poland's heart unstilled

A challenge to Soviet good faith much more serious than the showdown "Marshall plan" lay on Mr. Molotov's desk some weeks before he set out for Paris with his swarm of "technicians" to tell us that communism is fully competent—and determined—to take care of "democratic" building-plans for the "little fellows" of Eastern Europe. A memorandum embodying fifteen Catholic "Postulates" for the new Polish constitution (we promise you the full text for the September issue of the *Catholic Mind*) has been submitted to the Warsaw Government by Bishop Sigismond Choromanski, auxiliary to Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland, in the name of the Polish hierarchy and laity (the quasi-totality of the Polish people). What the stubbornly Christian Poles "demand" of the organic law which proposes to direct their reconstruction as a self-respecting nation and member of the United Nations is nothing more nor less than a Christian Democratic republic, sworn to obey and administer the supreme moral law of individuals and nations. The social and political expression of Poland's authentic cultural ideals, the first charge on the administration of the republic, is the guarantee of human rights against all forms of totalitarian encroachment, including collectivization of property and family life, state monopoly of education, political police and state control of trade unions. The independence of the Church in her own ministerial, educational and cultural province is to receive juridical recognition and protection. The ideal of social justice, Christian model, is to be set forth as the norm for the planning of Poland's social economy. Here is heartening evidence that the soul of Poland is still unscathed after the atrocious suffering of her past decade of martyrdom. Mr. Molotov knows, and we should never have doubted,

that the Poles have no intention of breaking with their Christian past and present. The brightest promise for their real "friendship" with their Russian neighbors lies clearly in their unmitigated determination to remain in "communion" with the traditions of the free and unfettered West.

Mr. Truman on human rights

"We can no longer afford the luxury of a leisurely attack upon prejudice and discrimination" said the President, addressing a conference of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People on June 29. Not that we ever could really afford such a luxury, if luxury is the name for it. A luxury, after all, is something that we do not need, a welcome addition to our ordinary fare, pleasant and helpful but not really necessary. Decent homes, decent jobs, equality before the law, freedom from the ugly threat of mob violence—these are not luxuries, and these are what prejudice and discrimination withhold from our colored citizens. We can afford to make haste slowly in improving conditions already good; we cannot move too swiftly in removing injustice and oppression. It is not our present intent to detract from the frank and determined words in which President Truman condemned the prejudice and discrimination that stand between our Negro citizens and the common rights of Americans, but rather to underline his contention that "we cannot wait another decade or another generation to remedy these evils. We must work, as never before, to cure them now." American democracy, as Mr. Truman made clear, is on trial before the world. We are holding out our way of life as the world's best hope. We have taken up the gage for democracy; and therefore "our case for democracy should be as strong as we can make it. It should rest on practical evidence that we have been able to put our own house in order." And, for that task, "we cannot any longer await the growth of a will to action in the slowest State or the most backward community. Our National Government must lead the way." A national FEPC and a Federal anti-lynching law would be welcome signs of such leadership.

Rise of Moslem nationalism

The news from Europe and the domestic front this week is more than enough to keep the average reader occupied. But important events are also taking place in the East. Not the least of these is the surging nationalist movement of Islam. The Moslem populations stretch from Morocco on the Atlantic coast to the Dutch East Indies, and in the countries in between there are strong Moslem movements to secure independence for their peoples and to organize among themselves for mutual support. The strongest of these organizations is the Arab League, which has its center in Cairo and includes Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Palestine continues to be a sore point of agitation, with the Arab League boycotting the UN Special Committee sent to investigate the situation. Iran, which is largely Moslem, is a diplomatic chessboard where

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Britain and Soviet Russia are continually moving to strengthen their respective positions. In India the Moslem League is forming the new state of Pakistan, which will be a great world Power. The current difficulties there arise from a jockeying for power between the Moslems and the Hindus. The former favor the independence of the Princely States, rather than see them joined to Hindustan. But they oppose the creation of an independent Pathanistan because it would separate the Pathan territory from the Punjab, an integral part of the new Moslem state. The Dutch East Indies is in the violent throes of giving birth to a new republic, the United States of Indonesia. An open break between the Dutch and Indonesians was temporarily averted by a U.S. note urging both sides to establish the interim government, to which they had agreed, and promising financial aid. The United States is much concerned over keeping peace in that vital area.

The rock which is Peter

It is a rare pleasure to come upon a non-Catholic sermon which is doctrinal. It is a rarer pleasure, and all the more appreciated, when that sermon treats of so fundamental a doctrine as the primacy of Peter. Such was the sermon preached recently by Canon Thomas A. Sparks, pastor of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, on the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." The Canon, as reported in the *New York Times*, said that "the great majority of the Early Church Fathers thought the rock upon which Christ said He would build His Church was not St. Peter as a person, nor his successors in office, the Bishops of Rome, but upon (*sic*) St. Peter's confession to Jesus that 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.'" After discussing the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, he concluded that "the special claims of the Bishop of Rome create great difficulties for the very many Christians throughout the world who long to come together in one united Christian Church, but cannot, so long as the claim is maintained that no one truly belongs to the historic Church of Christ unless he or she is of the Roman obedience, as now constituted." There is not space here to deal with the traditional objections which the Canon has raised against the Catholic interpretation of the text. But this may be said about his conclusion. On the one hand is the Catholic Church, firmly based on the solid rock of Peter and embracing over 330,000,000 people of all nations and races, who are united in faith and practice precisely because they profess obedience to the successor of St. Peter, the Roman Pontiff. On the other hand are the countless Christian sects, hopelessly divided in doctrine and yielding in despair to the anarchic principle that one religion is as good as another. Where, then, is unity to be found? In Rome abandoning her safe and secure position? Rather the plain logic of facts, even apart from the true scriptural and patristic interpretation of the Petrine text, urges the divided children of Christ to seek unity where alone true unity can be found, on the rock which is Peter.

Teachers' pay rises

Another *New York Times* survey of teachers' salaries reports that next year teachers in practically every State will receive substantially higher salaries—an average of \$400 higher. Some notion of the trend upward may be had from the fact that Texas, for instance, will increase its average from \$1,745 to \$2,500, the State of Washington from \$2,500 to \$3,200, Rhode Island from \$2,043 to \$2,953, Mississippi from \$800 to \$1,200, Georgia from \$1,000 to \$1,600, New York from \$2,931 to \$3,400. The teachers of Indiana will get the highest increase—from \$2,011 to \$3,000. The survey shows that at least eighteen States will guarantee above \$2,400 as an average salary and a number more will closely approach that figure. Twelve States, even with substantial increments granted for 1947-48, still remain below a \$2,000 average. There is a general feeling that though the teacher shortage will not be as acute next year as it was in 1946-47, it will nevertheless be several years before a sufficient number of qualified teachers is available. In some States recruitment and scholarship programs are proving successful in arousing interest in the teaching profession. And other States, adopting a long-range view, have taken the initiative in improving tenure, promotion and retirement programs, and in bettering working conditions in the schools. It is well to stress this long-range planning for other than monetary advances; for it would be naive to believe that the crisis in the teaching world, and the shortage in teachers, can be cured by higher salaries alone. What a writer in the June issue of *Integrity* calls "Life in an Education Factory"—with its dominance of "quantitative administrative efficiency" and of the "routinization of teaching procedures and of the entire school program"—accounts for the shortage almost as much as does the low salary scale. Teachers' salaries will never soar high enough to compensate for unsatisfactory conditions in the academic life.

Cleaning up the movie ads

"Cease and desist" orders can be and are issued by the Federal Trade Commission to restrain advertising of a type calculated to mislead the public. These orders are not infrequent against such advertising of foodstuffs, cigarettes, dentifrices and so on; but recently something new *has* appeared under the sun. For the first time, the FTC has issued an order to a movie company, the United Artists, to "cease and desist" advertising with the original highly laudatory reviews a re-issue of the rather old film, *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*, since the present version is cut to little more than half the length of the original. In addition—a point the FTC does not make—the public was grossly misled by the film's original advertising, which, without the slightest justification in fact, touted the picture as highly sexy. Not that we are complaining over the fact that it wasn't slimy; we're glad it didn't live up to the advertising titillation, but we think, nevertheless, that the ethics of advertising demands some similarity between the claims made and the product. This step of the FTC is much overdue; movie ads have long been a gangrenous spot on the body of

American publicity. The torrid-love posters and previews and their equally unrestrained language are themselves foul. If they cannot be restrained on this ground alone (censorship! would be the cry), they can be on the ground that they do not (not yet at any rate, thank God!) truly advertise the product. It's rather like being able to jail a known murderer only for having evaded the income tax—too bad we cannot legally call him what he really is; at least we can in this manner stop him from circulating freely as a public menace and continuing his nefarious works.

Termite control

In setting up its standing Committee on Un-American Activities under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the House of Representatives gave the chairman power to require the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers and documents, under legal penalty. On June 26, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, was convicted by a jury in the U. S. District Court in Washington of failure to appear before the Committee in answer to a subpoena last April 9. He is subject to a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine. The next day, sixteen board members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee were likewise convicted of contempt of Congress. The head of the board is Dr. Edward R. Barsky, New York surgeon. Evidence indicated Barsky to be a member of the executive committee of the CP. Fifteen of the sixteen were from New York City. Doctors, attorneys, housewives and representatives of five other walks of life all refused to produce the records of the organization. Gerhart Eisler, accused by Louis F. Budenz of being the "Number One Soviet commissar in the United States," was sentenced to one year in jail and a fine of \$1,000, having been convicted on June 10 of refusing to take an oath for testimony last February 6. He was released on \$20,000 bail pending appeal. Eisler is also scheduled for trial July 7 under indictment on the charge of fraud in obtaining a passport. Carl A. Marzani was sentenced to spend one to three years in prison for hiding his affiliation with the CP in obtaining a position in the State Department. Bail was refused pending appeal. The State Department announced on June 28 the discharge of ten employes for reasons of security. The exterminator squad has swung into action, doing a businesslike job.

Presidential succession

The Republican leadership of the Senate demonstrated its ability to whip through legislation by passing a new Presidential-succession bill on June 26. The vote followed strict party lines, 50 to 35, except for three Democratic votes in favor of the new plan. According to its provisions, in the event of the death, removal, resignation or inability to serve of both President and Vice-President, the office would descend to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The President Pro Tempore of the Senate would be next in line, followed by the members of the Cabinet in the chronological order of the establishment of each Department. The bill solves some

problems but seems to create others. The objection to the present system is that the Secretary of State, next in line after the Vice-President, is an appointee of the President. It does not seem democratic to allow the Chief Executive to appoint his successor. On the other hand, the Speaker of the House is often of a different political party from that of the President. Besides, what if a Vice-President raised to the Presidency should die between sessions of Congress when there is no Speaker? But the bill does satisfy the democratic ideal of having a person elected, at least indirectly, by the country at large, succeed to the Presidency. The proposal came from President Truman when Congress was Democratic. He reiterated it even after it had become Republican. The House passed this measure in the last session and is likely to do so again. With a flying President, the question of succession is practical, although many feel that Secretary Marshall, the heir to the Presidency under the existing law of succession, would be preeminently qualified for the office.

One to go

For the past several years democratic elements in the CIO, acutely embarrassed by the presence of Len De Caux and Lee Pressman in the top ranks of the union's bureaucracy, have been agitating for their removal. They suspected both gentlemen of pro-communist leanings and of following the "party line." Last week it was one up and one to go. For "personal reasons" Mr. De Caux resigned his key job as Chief of the Publicity and Information Sections, which includes the editorship of the *CIO News*, and Allan L. (Pete) Swim, who has been handling the public-relations end of the Southern organizing campaign, was appointed to the position. The effect of the change should be to render CIO publicity more palatable to outsiders.

Father Talbot

AMERICA joins his many friends in congratulating its former Editor-in-Chief, Father Francis X. Talbot, on his appointment as President of Loyola College, Baltimore. Father Talbot became a member of the AMERICA staff in 1923, and as Literary Editor made notable contributions to the advance of Catholic letters in this country. By his writing and lectures he added no small impetus to our Catholic literary revival; and he found time also to serve as editorial secretary of the Catholic Book Club, chairman of the board of editors of the Spiritual Book Association, trustee of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society. He was the founder and National Chaplain of the Catholic Poetry Society. His published books comprise, to date: *Jesuit Education in Philadelphia*, *Richard Henry Tierney*, *Shining in Darkness*, *Saint among Savages*. In 1936 he became Editor-in-Chief, a post he held until 1944, when he relinquished it to devote himself to the work of the Institute of Social Order. The AMERICA staff, remembering Father Talbot's years as Rector of this Jesuit community, congratulate their Baltimore brethren on having as their Superior one so kindly, generous and understanding as Father Talbot.

Washington Front

Some interesting post-mortems have followed the veto and re-passing of the Taft-Hartley Act. Sitting in with a group of lawyers not long ago—some liberal and some conservative—I received the very distinct impression that they expect a great increase in business in the near future from labor-management cases. That goes for labor lawyers and corporation lawyers alike. Some even foresee long years of Supreme Court decisions, telling us what the Act really means and defining the respective rights of workers and employers. To judge from the statements of labor leaders, one can easily believe this to be a true prophecy.

Another post-veto flurry concerns, strangely enough, a religious issue. Here is how that came about. On June 12, while the President's advisers were still considering the bill, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference issued a statement criticizing certain of its provisions. The next day, in his syndicated column, David Lawrence criticized the Department, saying, among other things, that "for any church unit, functioning as an institution, to mix in as a pressure group on specific laws in the economic or political field is to involve America in unfortunate controversies where the influence of the churches will be weakened instead of

strengthened." He returned to the charge on June 30, to answer his critics.

Some years ago the Federal Council of Churches (Protestant) appealed to the redoubtable Congressman Tinkham on an immigration measure. Mr. Tinkham said the legislation was "of a secular character" and church resolutions on it were "indefensible" on the grounds of complete separation of Church and State. The reply of the petitioners was that "the Federal Council does not consider any question involving right and justice as being secular." It is only fair to say that Mr. Lawrence has more than once criticized the Federal Council on the same grounds as he criticized the Social Action Department, and no doubt both bodies would with equal justice make the same response that was made to Congressman Tinkham.

The incident is somewhat of a tempest in a teapot, but may turn out to be important in its implications. There have never been wanting—since the days of Msgr. John A. Ryan and Father Paul Blakely, or since Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishops Ireland and Spalding, for that matter—those who question the Church's competence in social and economic matters. But they can easily be convicted of ignorance of the temporal aspect of the Church's mission, which is to be a spokesman for right and justice in this world. To speak of the influence of the Church being weakened is to miss the point. The Church would show real weakness if it were not vigilant against violations of justice.

WILFRID PARSONS

Underscorings

The Most Rev. Thomas A. Boland, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of Newark since 1940, has been appointed Bishop of Paterson, N. J., to succeed Bishop Thomas H. McLaughlin, first ordinary of Paterson, who died March 17.

► Quite a number of episcopal appointments have been announced since the 1947 *Official Catholic Directory* deadline of January 1. A listing of them here may make for convenient reference: Msgr. Joseph Carroll McCormick, Auxiliary to Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia; Msgr. Mark K. Carroll, Bishop of Wichita, Kansas; Msgr. Allen J. Babcock, Auxiliary to Cardinal Mooney of Detroit; Msgr. Thomas J. McDonough, Auxiliary to Bishop Hurley of St. Augustine; Msgr. Floyd L. Begin, Auxiliary to Bishop Hoban of Cleveland; Most Rev. William T. McCarty, C.S.S.R., Coadjutor Bishop of Rapid City, S. D., with the right of succession; Most Rev. Leo F. Dworschak, Coadjutor of Rapid City, transferred as Auxiliary to Bishop Muench of Fargo, N. D.; Msgr. John J. Wright, Auxiliary to Archbishop Cushing of Boston; Msgr. John P. Cody, Auxiliary to Archbishop Ritter of St. Louis; Rev. James J. Byrne, Auxiliary to Archbishop Murray of St. Paul; Rev. Henry T. Klonowski, Auxiliary to Bishop Hafey of Scranton; Very Rev.

Joseph M. Marling, C.P.P.S., Auxiliary to Bishop O'Hara of Kansas City, Mo.

► The ninth annual Educational Conference of the Brothers of the Christian Schools will be held July 16 to 18 at St. Michael's College, Santa Fé, N. M.

► The Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada has entered into a cooperative agreement with St. Louis University for the furtherance of its hospital program in the fields of medicine, nursing, the auxiliary health professions and hospital administration. Rev. Alphonse M. Schwitalla, S.J., dean of the St. Louis University School of Medicine, has retired as president of the association after holding the office for nineteen years; he has been named president emeritus. A new office has been set up—that of executive director—which Rev. John J. Flanagan, S.J., until lately president of Regis College, Denver, will fill.

► Providence College of Providence, R. I., has a new president, the Very Rev. Robert J. Slavin, O.P., formerly professor of philosophy at Catholic University, and has drawn plans for a new \$500,000 science building. . . . Gannon College, Erie, Pa., will build a \$400,000 recreation center and auditorium. Bishop John Mark Gannon made the first contribution—\$100,000.

► At St. Louis on June 9 five colored postulants received the habit of the Sisters of St. Mary of the Third Order of St. Francis—the first in the history of the Congregation. A. P. F.

Editorials

UN showdown on Greece

On its second birthday, celebrated on June 26, the United Nations received some strange greetings. President Truman and Secretary Marshall followed custom by pledging the continued support of the United States. As the original sponsors of the organization, we have a special obligation to nurture it as long as hope remains of making the experiment successful.

But, at the same time, the Greek situation is coming to a showdown. The Honorable Warren R. Austin, U. S. representative on the Security Council, interjected anything but a "Happy Birthday" when he demanded that the infant organization take, for the first time, the "enforcement action" provided for under Chapter VII of its Charter. The "situation" threatening peace, in Mr. Austin's opinion, is the continued "use of force" by Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria to destroy the "territorial integrity and political independence of Greece."

The issue dates from the time in early January, 1945 when Winston Churchill choked by military means the forty-day civil war fomented by the attempt of the Greek Communists to "take over" before Greece had a chance to settle down after the Germans were driven out. As early as August 20, 1945 the United States, Britain and France announced that they would send commissioners to assist in assuring Greece of free elections, according to the Yalta Agreement. Russia, itself guilty of the most flagrant political interference in Axis-occupied countries, refused to participate on the familiar pretext that such supervision would be "an unwarranted intervention" in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

Instead of helping, Russia embarked upon a venomous campaign of vilification of Britain, charging that the continued presence of British troops in Greece constituted a "threat to peace." Bevin and Vishinsky squared off in London in early February, 1946 to exchange verbal blows. Bevin came forward as the first democratic statesman to meet Russian arrogance with the counterblast it deserved. The Greek issue was clearly crucial to both sides.

Despite communist attempts to prolong the confusion in Greece by endlessly putting off the elections, they were held at the end of March and resulted in the victory of the Populist (Royalist) Party. Greek leftists boycotted the election, although the multitude of commissioners and many foreign correspondents who witnessed it testified that the people had a free choice. Russia stalled for some time by diverting attention to Franco Spain as a "threat to peace," and even went so far as to charge that the presence of U. S. troops in China, Brazil, Iceland and Panama constituted a "threat to peace."

Last December events took a more ominous turn.

Greece charged that Soviet-controlled Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria were fomenting a "state of civil war" on the borders of Greece with the aim of depriving Greece of Macedonia. With Russia abstaining, the UN voted to send a Balkan Inquiry Commission to investigate. The Soviet satellite states embarrassed this Commission, but it recently handed in a 767-page report. The majority opinion substantiated the Greek charges. The United States therefore demands that the UN now take action to enforce a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

The evil power fomenting civil war in Greece is Russia, operating through her satellites. Russia will no doubt try again to use her privileged Big Power position to stymie UN action. But, as Mr. Herschel Johnson warned us recently, we cannot now afford to let aggression grow as we did in 1931. Within or without the UN, we must call a halt.

Whatever the risk may be, we must take it. Otherwise the Marshall Plan, the only present hope of stabilizing Europe and the world, would be exposed to continued Soviet depredations.

The Church in politics again

The old chestnut of the Church's interference in politics is periodically warmed over and served to the American public. A letter to the *New York Times* (June 14), for example, recites the hoary terminology of "the political activities of the members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy . . . representatives of a foreign power." Do the facts warrant this charge?

In *Collier's* for July 5, James A. Farley sheds some light on the matter. He relates a conversation he had with the late Cardinal Mundelein in the summer of 1939. The Cardinal urged him not to seek the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1940, in order not to involve Catholics in another debacle such as occurred in the campaign of 1928. The Cardinal also expressed the belief that President Roosevelt would run for a third term and he hoped Mr. Farley would support him. The former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee replied: "I want to be as free and open as I know how, Your Eminence. . . . You are the first person in the Church who has ever attempted to influence me on a political matter, and I have been in politics thirty years." Mr. Farley's whole political career is a factual refutation of the charge that the Church interferes in politics.

What will help most to bury this moldy chestnut is a calm, open-minded investigation into the nature and extent of the Church's authority. The Roman Pontiff and the bishops, as successors to Peter and the apostles, possess a teaching authority of divine origin. They are commissioned by Jesus Christ to preserve His revelation

and teach it to all peoples. Their primacy, therefore, is of the spiritual order, in matters that pertain to faith and morals. The State, on the other hand, is supreme in its strictly temporal domain. Far from underestimating the rights of the State, Catholic thought has always maintained that a legally-constituted government derives its authority from God and, as such, is deserving of respect and obedience. There are many points, however, where the spiritual and temporal orders touch: marriage, education and the moral aspects of many social and economic questions. In these matters, too, the hierarchy has a right and a duty to speak out.

There is a further point to make. Individual bishops and priests, as American citizens, have freedom of speech and the right to use their vote and express their mind on the issues of the day. Civic-minded people in every community are well aware of this and are anxious to have clergymen join their organizations and serve on their committees, because they recognize them as a social force of wide influence.

When the Church, therefore, is charged with interfering in politics, a clear distinction must be made. If "politics" means party politics, the striving for political power, then the Church has no right and no desire to engage in it. But if "politics" means good government, the promotion of the common welfare, the observance of justice and charity in the social order, then the teaching authority of the Church has the right and the duty to pronounce upon the moral issues involved, and the individual churchman may exercise the rights enjoyed by every American citizen.

The failure at Paris

In formulating foreign policy, it is more essential to assess the pertinent facts in any given situation than to know them. When a nation's security is at stake, not to mention the peace of the world, there is no place for wishful thinking.

Even before the end of the war, Washington knew the pertinent facts of the international situation. It knew that Soviet Russia was a police state dominated by a small gang of ruthless men, the Politburo, who had sworn mortal enmity to Western civilization. They knew, furthermore, that the alliance which defeated Hitler was forged by necessity, not by principle, and that, even in the midst of the fighting, Soviet Russia distrusted her Western allies and fought her own war, for her own aims, from start to finish. Finally, they knew that these aims were imperialistic, to be realized by the Red Army, by terror and by the manipulation of a Fifth Column throughout the world.

These facts were known in Washington, but they were brutal facts, unwelcome to a comfortable, peace-loving people. And so Washington did some wishful thinking—and some appeasing. It uttered reassuring, heart-warming phrases about democracy and friendship. It talked about the United Nations and "One World." It engaged in conferences—at Potsdam, London, New York, Moscow—to write a just and lasting peace.

And all the while the Kremlin, by its actions, was making a mockery of the fine phrases: hamstringing the United Nations, raping Eastern and Central Europe (not to mention Korea and Manchuria), building a bloc of slavish puppets out of once independent nations, insulting its wartime allies day after day over the kept Moscow radio and in the kept Russian press.

It took Washington a long time to face the facts squarely and to assess them realistically; but the time came. It came when the architects of our foreign policy realized that our patience could continue no longer. It had suddenly become dangerous. Soviet aggression, lapping at the boundaries of Greece and Turkey, had reached the point where it menaced our security. And so Mr. Truman made a speech on March 12 and called a spade a spade. He said, in substance, that there were two worlds and that from now on we were going to back ours.

Against this background, the failure of Messrs. Molotov, Bevin and Bidault to agree at Paris on a plan for European reconstruction should not be discouraging. From the day Secretary of State Marshall, in his Harvard address, invited Europe to forget past hatreds and suspicions and, with American help, to rebuild its broken economy, it was evident that the choice was not between an all-European approach to the problem and no approach at all, but between no approach at all and an approach through a Western-European bloc, including the French, British and American zones in Germany. Mr. Bevin saw this clearly from the start, and as much as said so. Mr. Bidault saw it also, but could not say so. He had to reckon with the traitor, Thorez, head of the Moscow-dominated French Communist Party.

Hence the failure of the negotiations at Paris. But the failure was worth while, since it demonstrated to the peoples of Europe and the world that Soviet Russia alone stands in the way of reconstruction. She it is who is responsible for the present division of Europe—and for the dismal prospect of two worlds.

Now let us get on with rebuilding as much of the world as is still free, hoping and praying for the eventual liberation of the enslaved peoples behind the Kremlin's "Iron Curtain." They will be able to join us the sooner if we let them know that the man who rejected the Marshall plan and insisted on keeping them in rags and fetters was the Russian Hitler, Josef Stalin.

Rights of the States and Federal aid

The rights of the States, properly understood, embody a sound American principle, and the Federal Government should not usurp but respect these rights. This is by no means to say, however, as some people in Washington are saying, that in disbursing its funds to the several States the Federal Government must so far respect States' rights as to be bound by laws, statutes or policies of these States which are discriminatory and unjust. The Federal Government has both the right and the duty to

see that its funds are used for the general welfare, for all its citizens, on a basis of equity.

There has been much discussion of States' rights in Senate hearings on the Taft Federal aid to education bill (S.472). The favorite argument for Mr. Taft's bill is that it is "a States' rights bill," in as much as it permits States which now spend local and State funds for services to non-public school children to spend Federally allocated funds for the same purpose. The argument fails to take several facts into account: 1) practically none of the States spends local and State funds for services to non-public school children—in fact, most States forbid it—and would not therefore expend Federal funds for these purposes; 2) the Taft bill, as well as other pending Federal aid to education bills, requires that a *pro rata* share of allotments to the States be spent for children attending schools for minority races, *regardless of State practices to the contrary*; 3) in the National School Lunch Act, passed in June, 1946, the Federal Government stipulates that a *pro rata* share of the funds disbursed must go to children in non-public schools.

To date, there is no single instance on record in which the Federal Government patterned its distribution of funds on discriminatory and unjust practices of the States. Yet the Taft Federal aid bill puts the Government in the compromising position of both approving and disapproving unjust State policies; for in Section 7 the bill makes an equitable allotment of Federal funds to children attending schools for minority races, and then in Section 3 refuses the same equity to children attending non-public schools. If it is unjust for a State to refuse to allot a fair share of funds for children in schools for minority races, it is likewise unjust to refuse a fair allotment of funds for children in non-public schools—and it is this latter injustice which the Taft bill asks Congress to sanction and seal by law.

Mr. Taft and his Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare seem to rest their case on this line of reasoning: We favor transportation, health and other services for non-public school children. We think the States should furnish these services, but we do not think it is the function of the Federal Government to *force* the States to render such services, particularly those States whose courts have declared these services unconstitutional. Therefore we intend to give Federal funds to the States to use for any *legal* purpose—including, of course, services for non-public school children if they so wish. Catholics ought to be satisfied with this arrangement, especially since public-school groups and the Protestants want us to forbid the States to use any Federal funds, directly or indirectly, in aid of non-public school children.

The reasoning is fallacious. The whole purpose of Federal aid to education is to serve the national welfare, not any narrow, unjust, prejudiced interests of the several States. Catholics have the right to demand that the Federal Government, through the Congress, hold fast to its invariable rule of absolute equity in the distribution of funds in aid of education.

Inflationary rent boost

No alternative was open to President Truman when presented with the Housing and Rent Act of 1947 except to sign it. Coming on the last day before expiration of controls under existing legislation, the effect of a veto would have been to leave all rents uncontrolled until, and if, Congress might be prevailed upon to draft another bill. With adjournment less than a month away, the prospects of getting a more satisfactory bill were slim.

Renters with a sense of reality can hardly be happy that the President was forced into the position of having to take H.R. 3203 or get nothing. Politically, passage of the bill was a smart piece of timing, calculated to give the impression that Congress has the welfare of renters at heart. At the same time it temporarily appeased the powerful real-estate lobby, that stout citadel of bourgeois thinking which is convinced that business-as-usual takes precedence over the people's housing needs.

Practically speaking, however, the new rent law means one thing—restrictions upon rent increases are fewer and, from the viewpoint of inflation, less effective than under the old legislation. Rents will go up; make no mistake about that. Otherwise the legislation would lack meaning. What curtailment and abolition of OPA did for foods and other living expenses is now to be reenacted in the field of rental shelter. The difference is that whereas production of food and other items has been fairly abundant, the construction of housing units nowhere near meets annual needs, let alone the huge backlog.

Despite assurances of Senator Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey that the new rent-control machinery carries "no coercive advantage for the property owner," the prospect of abuses by landlords taking advantage of a "sellers' market" is by no means remote. Already urban property-owners, in some of the 600 districts still subject to control, are seeing the loopholes in the bill. Technically speaking, they may not be "coercing" their tenants into "voluntary" acceptance of rent increases, but the tenants know full well that refusal on their part means either eviction—a variety of reasons is possible—or the prospect of higher rents, without the 18-months lease, only a few months hence. The landlord has to prove no hardship resulting from non-increase of rent; he merely has to file the lease growing out of the "voluntary" agreement.

The President's request for an inquiry into the activities of the real-estate lobby is most appropriate at this time. The reply of "nonsense" by the National Association of Real Estate Boards gives no assurance an investigation is not needed. The well-financed lobby has been having its own way since V-J Day. The new law is its latest triumph. Meanwhile all efforts by other groups to get serious consideration of an effective national housing program have thus far been thwarted. The House Banking and Currency Committee will not even schedule hearings on the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, disapproved by the real-estate lobby as "socialistic." It is time we found out who does speak for the people's interest in the matter of housing.

Macedonia: mate in three moves

G. Rilov

G. Rilov is the pen name of a former Bulgarian foreign service officer and correspondent who has made a close study of Russian moves in Eastern Europe. He has lived in the United States for the past several years and has taken out his first papers toward citizenship.

Of all the countries composing "the cockpit of Europe," none has been the center of more intrigue or figured more frequently in the news during the past sixty years than Macedonia. An apple of discord between the various Balkan states and the great Powers, it has at various times been divided in the interests of both. Only in the period between 1934 and 1941, when Bulgaria—seeking a peaceful place among the Balkan nations—dissolved and declared illegal the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, did the birthplace of Alexander the Great figure less frequently in reports of international tensions. This Organization had not only terrorized Greece and Macedonia, but had become a threat to Bulgaria's own internal peace.

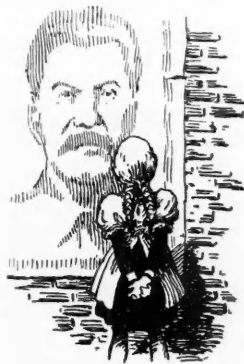
But today again Macedonia is the spot where the interests of great Powers clash. In the course of division during the past years, parts of Macedonia have fallen within the conflicting orbits of the Eastern and Western Powers. The portions comprising Yugoslav and Bulgarian Macedonia lie in the Russian sphere, while the section called Greek Macedonia is within the Western sphere.

During World War II, when Italy and Germany seized the Balkans in 1941, Macedonia suffered one of its most serious dissections. In the division agreed upon among the Axis Powers, Italy and Bulgaria both received Macedonian territory—Bulgaria being given parts of both Yugoslav and Greek Macedonia in addition to the territory she already possessed. In return, the German invaders asked Bulgaria to furnish civil officers for administration of the territory so as to release German troops for the war fronts. Besides the military advantage gained by the Axis through this plan, it was hoped that a political advantage would be gained, since the new arrangement would promote hostility between the Yugoslavs and Bulgarians, who, if united, could be dangerous in a moment of German military weakness. But it was in Macedonia that Bulgarian deserters and Macedonian patriots joined Tito's forces. If the choice of Tito seems strange, it should be recalled that Macedonia had been a stronghold of communism during the days of the Yugoslav Kingdom. During World War II it was the international meeting ground of guerilla fighters against Nazi Germany, including Italian deserters and Greek Partisans.

Having established contact with Tito, the Macedonian Partisans eagerly seized upon his plan for a federal system including the South Slavs. Wiser than earlier Belgrade governments, Tito offered equal status in his proposed federal state to the Macedonians. According to this plan, in the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), held in Jajce, Yugoslavia, on November 23, 1943, a

federation of free states was proclaimed, even before liberation from German troops had been achieved. The members of this newly-proclaimed federal state of Yugoslavia were: Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the first time in centuries Macedonia, for whose "liberty" four wars had been fought, was to become a federal state on the basis of "liberty, equality and sovereignty." In these negotiations, staged a month before the Red Army reached the Balkans, Stalin's friend Tito had given—as a promise at least—all that the Macedonians had fought for in the preceding fifty years.

With the entry of Russian troops upon the scene, Moscow maneuvered skillfully. Macedonian territory held at the time by Greece and Bulgaria was not at once demanded as part of Tito's federated Yugoslavia. But Macedonians in Bulgaria began, early in April, 1945, to demand the creation of an "independent Macedonian state," comprising the territory then divided among Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece—a state bordering on the Aegean Sea. Nearly three months later, according to a dispatch from Istanbul, a member of the Soviet Russian mission in Sofia took part in a secret meeting in the town of Struma which proclaimed that Russia would support the creation of an independent Macedonian state, which later could become a member of the Balkan federation that was Russia's ultimate objective.



The purposes of Soviet policy in this move were clearly discernible: 1) use of the term "undivided Macedonia" meant that Greek Macedonia, in the British sphere of influence, must be included in the united Macedonian state; 2) "Balkan federation" meant that Russia had in mind to extend her federal plan to cover all Balkan states, including, therefore, European (if not

all) Turkey and Greece. The object of this plan was apparent as early as July 7, 1945, when Tito began to protest vehemently against the persecution of Slavs in Greek Macedonia. In October of the same year he declared that Yugoslavia could not be indifferent to the destiny of Aegean Macedonia, and that the Yugoslav Government believed all Macedonians should be incorporated into their own state.

On December 1, 1945 the Presidium of the Yugoslav Federal Republic, composed of 39 members, elected Ivan Ribar as President and Tito as Premier of Yugoslavia. Six Vice Presidents were elected to serve with

the President of the Republic, each representing one of the federated states—among them Macedonia. Through this arrangement Yugoslav Macedonia today has her own government and her own administration as a member of Tito's federation.

Meanwhile, in Bulgaria, Georgi Dimitrov, Stalin's representative in Bulgarian affairs, formerly Secretary General of the Third International and now a potential President of a probable Yugoslav-Bulgarian Federation, stated before the National Assembly of Bulgaria on December 15, 1945:

The Fatherland Front [of Bulgaria] is of the opinion that it must do everything in its power to see that Macedonia ceases to be an apple of discord in the Balkans and becomes a link between the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and the National Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. Both Slav countries are so friendly as to make it entirely possible to compose their national interests among themselves without foreign intervention.

So the powerful Georgi Dimitrov in Bulgaria, like Tito in Yugoslavia, blessed the Russian-sponsored solution of the Balkan and Macedonian problems, in line with their master's dictates.

In furtherance of the above plans, guerilla fighting in Greece and Macedonia has continued since 1945. The governments in Belgrade and Sofia have been accused of aiding the guerillas, but the moral and material support comes from a mightier source. Since diplomatic representations by the Western Powers in Belgrade and Sofia were unable to end the guerilla fighting in impoverished Greece, the United Nations sent its fact-finding commission to the Balkans early in the spring of this year. The results of the inquiry confirm what has been known for some time—that, whatever the incidents may be, their cause lies in a Russian policy which aims to build a stronghold in the Balkans and secure strategic positions there.

The creation of the "free Macedonian state" including all Macedonians, proposed by Tito in his speech of October, 1945, is the next move contemplated in the Russian chess game in the Balkans. Such a state, including Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Greek Macedonia, with sovereign power over the Vardar and Struma Valleys—in ancient times the most important strategic points of invasion into the Balkans—would mean extension of Russian-controlled territories as far as the Aegean shores. Such a "free Macedonia" would cut in between the now-adjacent Greece and Turkey and give a foothold for expansion into these two countries.

How can this "free Macedonian state" be created out of a Macedonia now integrated into the Yugoslav Federation? The constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has been cleverly devised. It is flexible in the matter of accepting a new member into the Federation, or the withdrawal of an existing member; and the Macedonia which is now part of Tito's Federation has the right to secede and become a separate state composed of the territories heretofore mentioned. In those sections of the new state which were Yugoslav and Bulgarian Macedonia, Russia need only give orders to her obedient representatives, Tito and Dimitrov, to

relinquish their Macedonian sections; and in Greek Macedonia the guerillas are doing their part in the Moscow plan.

As the game proceeds, it will be interesting to see whether Bulgaria joins Yugoslavia in close federation before the creation of "free Macedonia" or waits until this part of the scheme is put into effect. Imprisonment of the leader of the communist-opposed Agrarian Party in Bulgaria, and the complete isolation of the country from outside communication, indicate that mysterious moves are taking place there. Rumors persist concerning the presence of high-ranking Soviet officials in Belgrade, and of a conference in that city to which Russia's puppets have been called.

The element of surprise is part of Russia's strategy and her moves cannot easily be predicted. Regardless, however, of the order in which the changes in Balkan political geography will occur, there is no doubt that Russia will attempt to cement a South-Slav bloc—composed of federated Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the proposed Free Macedonia—before it proceeds with the creation of an all-Balkan federation through which it can gain control over one of the most strategic points in Europe.

Enough of the plan is evident, enough of the moves have been made, to make the goal apparent. The Western Powers must shape their policy, convince the Balkan peoples of the superiority of truly democratic traditions, offer disinterested aid to adherents of democracy in the Balkan countries *now*, or further the Russian plan by default.

Guidance?

I sometimes wonder

Charles J. Sullivan

The society of today has become so complex that it is no longer an easy thing for a parent to provide the leadership so necessary for the proper development of the child. There was a time when Dad would take Willie into the fields and show the boy, at first hand, how to plow, how to plant, how to cultivate and finally how to harvest the crop. Father led the boys on their hunting trips. It was he who acted as judge, mediator, prosecutor for the family. Mother took the girls and showed them how to care for the house. She taught them to cook, to sew, to sweep, and to dust. In time of stress they came to her for help with their own families. First it was mother, and then grandmother, who was the fountain of domestic wisdom. Not every boy and girl, of course, was lucky enough to have parents who could teach them everything. Those whose parents were less well versed in the facts and skills needed to work out a full life had a harder struggle.

Society today has built schools and staffed them with competent teachers. These will provide the courses needed by the youngster. They are there for the asking. There

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is an astonishing list to choose from, and its very magnitude often confuses the parents as well as the child.

After acquiring the basic tools of learning, reading and writing, as well as some facility with numbers, the youth is ready to go forward to greener and richer pastures. At this point he needs help. There is an old saying among teachers that more diplomas are lost during the first and second terms of high school than are lost by failure in the final examinations; so many children, having made an unfortunate choice of courses, become discouraged and drop out of school.

If parents are to be in a position to help the youngster, they must know facts and conditions as they exist in the secondary schools of today. Secondary education is divided into three main groupings: academic, commercial and vocational. Into one of these fields the youngster will be guided.

The boy or girl who has chosen a profession as his or her life's work will expect to go to college. College requires the academic course; consequently those boys and girls who expect to be teachers, doctors, lawyers, dentists, etc., will select the academic high school.

The commercial course may be college preparatory or it may be direct preparation for business. The boys and girls who will become the bookkeepers, stenographers, clerks, typists, salesmen and business people of the next generation will come from the ranks of the commercial course. Some of them will go from high school to the School of Business Administration and fill such positions as certified public accountant, business manager, business consultant or some other equally specialized.

The third large group is composed of those who wish to work with their hands. It includes young people gifted in the arts and music as well as those who will be satisfied to push a broom and sweep the gutter. The city that has a vocational school will offer instruction in many trades and skills. In the larger cities there will be several vocational schools, each specializing in some particular field, such as food and food trades, textiles, printing and allied skills, plumbing, auto mechanics, carpentry, electrical wiring and installation. Several cities have a secondary school devoted to music and the arts.

Understanding the situation, and knowing the conditions that exist in the community in which the child will go to school, the parent is in a position to offer intelligent counsel.

The influence of the parent upon the choice made by the child cannot be too greatly emphasized. William, for instance, is just finishing elementary school. For two years he has been the pride and joy of his teachers because he has done such beautiful coloring work to be used as room decoration. William considers himself a successful artist. His work has been accepted and praised. He comes to his father with the idea of becoming an artist. In his mind's eye he sees himself acclaimed a world-famed artist, painter of masterpieces. His father's view is quite different. The parent sees a dirty attic, years of penury and "artistic revels." That's not for his boy. At this point his course of action may take one of two paths. He may explain to the boy that coloring pictures

is not a true test of artistic ability, and through reason lead the child to a different field of endeavor. The other course, certainly a more dramatic one and also more brutal, would be for him to fly into a towering rage at the thought that his boy should even contemplate such a vocation. Following a thorough tongue-lashing would come more direct action in the form of purging the house of all the artist's materials that the youngster might have collected. The result of such action, the quiet or the violent, cannot be predicted, but it goes without saying that it will have some effect upon the child.

High school, for a large percentage of the youngsters, provides the terminal or last formal education they will receive. Hence they should have the help and guidance of the parent so that they may make a wise choice.

Improper guidance is worse than no guidance at all. Take the case of Mary. She came to high school with no least idea of what she wanted to do, what courses she needed or what subjects she preferred. She was put in the academic course, where she did satisfactory work for three years. In her last year she suddenly found herself. She wanted to become a physician. With an academic diploma she was admitted to college.



Marvin was not so fortunate. He, too, was at sea when he came to high school. He, too, was placed in the academic course. At the end of the first term he was disgusted with his foreign language. He first asked, then insisted, and lastly enlisted the aid of his parent in getting rid of the language. Since the parent is the legal guardian of the child, the school was forced to do what the parent

wanted, which was what Marvin wanted. In his second term Marvin decided he had had enough mathematics. Again the parent championed his cause. Again the school had to give in, against its better judgment and after remonstrating with both the parent and the boy. "If he insists on dropping math and language, Marvin will never be admitted to college." And the answer came back: "He is very unhappy about his course. Drop the subjects he doesn't like and let him take something he likes better."

The responsibility of being a parent can reduce itself to very simple terms for some people. To Marvin's father it meant making the boy "happy." He lacked the comprehensive understanding of the situation which would have enabled him to explain to his son the need for his doing a difficult job today so that his future might be brighter. Marvin was being misguided into the belief that what he wanted was what he should have. If he could not have constructive guidance, it is, to say the least, unfortunate that he had to receive misguidance.

(Charles J. Sullivan has been associated with the Guidance Organization of a large secondary school for the past seventeen years.)

We, the people— a shrinking giant

Harold C. Gardiner

When the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing three million American women, voted almost two to one in their New York convention (June 26) not to register their support of the Stratton bill (providing for the admission of 400,000 displaced persons to this country over a period of four years), the arguments that determined their adverse stand were all the old canards which objective and unprejudiced studies have time and time again refuted.

Though the ladies reversed their stand the following day, many false statements, some of them surprisingly callous for women, characterized the original debate and are quite symptomatic of certain segments of American thought. Such were: "charity begins at home"; "these DP's are broken in health, ill, and are taking any port in a storm; what kind of citizens would they make?"; "this country should not be the dumping ground for all the excess of unwanted people of Europe"; "it is not the duty of the United States to solve the social and economic problems of Europe"; "the energy of these people should be used right now in the reconstruction of their own homes and cities"; "DP's would constitute a tremendous competition to hamper our own boys in their right to make a living."

This line of reasoning has as little validity as that given currency by Representative Gossett of Texas when he said that DP's are trouble-makers and subversive. It is true that many of "these DP's are broken in health, ill, and are taking any port in a storm"—the only port in a very terrible storm. Most, however, represent sturdy, industrious stock and, with proper care and nourishment, would soon take their place among the able. As to "what kind of citizens would they make?" the history of past American immigration gives the answer. We are inclined to forget that the population of the United States is made up of dissidents, fugitives from oppression, poverty and undernourishment. The Puritans were dissidents, and so were the streams of immigrants who peopled the plains of the Middle West in 1848-1870. Enemies in their original European homelands, the nationals of countries with different languages and customs and religious affiliations managed to live peacefully and helpfully alongside one another; and the industrial development of the United States is tribute to their usefulness. Their record in two world wars proves the fulness of their Americanization—especially those who fear that immigrants will ruin the American tradition should read the roster of names of past immigrants who gave their lives to defend it.

There is one aspect of our population problem, however, which has not been brought to public attention as much as it deserves.

This is the fact that we need immigration. That this quite plain fact is not recognized was shown by the

According to estimates of population experts, by 1970 Russia will have a population of 251,000,000; China and India will have increased by forty per cent; the U. S. will number about 160,000,000 people. Where does that leave us, and what can be done about it?

"gasps" of surprise and "audible denials" (according to the New York Times report) heard at the Women's Clubs convention when a New York delegate made the simple statement that "the United States needs more population."

Do we? Let's turn to the most recent study available. The National Committee on Immigration Policy has just issued a booklet, *Immigration and Population Policy*, which is indeed an eye-opener to those who want to think straight on the admission of the DP's. More than that, it is a help to all who want to think constructively on the future of this country—and on the not-too-distant future, too, for it is close enough to affect your children and their children.

We are a young nation and we suppose, therefore, that we are a growing nation. The fact of the matter is that the period of our growth is just about over. Our population, according to the 1940 census, was 131,669,275; here is what it will be at each succeeding decade:

July 1, 1950.....	145,460,000
July 1, 1960.....	153,375,000
July 1, 1970.....	159,847,000
July 1, 1980.....	163,877,000
July 1, 1990.....	164,585,000
July 1, 2000.....	163,312,000

On these figures the report comments: "The peak population . . . will be reached in 1990, after which there will be a slow decline. This forecast represents an expected increase of about 25 per cent in the next fifty years compared with an increase of 100 per cent in the fifty years before 1940." (These figures are based on the assumption of median fertility, median mortality and no net immigration.)

So much for the fact of our shrinking population; and it is a fact established not merely by this one report, but by an almost unanimous consensus of the population experts referred to in this study.

What of the future of the United States if the population shrinkage actually sets in? There are, first, startling implications in the field of world affairs. By 1970, for example, Russia will have a population of 251,000,000, or almost 100,000,000 more than the United States. To quote the report again:

During the thirty years from 1940 to 1970, the population of the USSR, China and India will probably increase forty per cent and upward. At the end of the century, the population of the United States will be proportionately smaller in relation to the population of Russia, China and India than it is now. Furthermore, the population of the United States will, according to our prediction, be declining, whereas the population of these regions will still be increasing at a rapid rate. Whatever the future of world organization, the relative population of the various nations and regions will be a matter of profound importance in determining the shape of things to come.

And within our borders, what will be the result of a diminishing population? Gunnar Myrdal, author of *The American Dilemma* and present chairman of the UN Economic Mission for Europe, sums them up in his *Population, a Problem for Democracy*: a decline of investment in production, poorer position for labor, decline of agriculture, decline in demand for capital goods, increased risk of investment, a lower standard of living, and free enterprise giving way more and more to social planning.

I underline one result enumerated above, because it runs counter to all the propaganda for birth control which I shall take up in a following article. Further, as our population grows smaller it will grow older—that is, there will be an increasing proportion of old people to young. This means “a greater share of society’s wealth devoted to the care of the aged. It means that there will be a greater emphasis on security and less on adventure as a goal in life. And social and economic mobility for individuals and classes will decrease.”

It seems, then, that on many counts a declining United States population is by no means a good thing.

But by what means is it to stop declining and at least remain stable, if not grow? With the present trend in the birth rate, natural increase will not enable us to hold the line; we are simply not reproducing ourselves. This holds true, the authorities say, even despite the remarkable spurt in marriages and births within recent years, “which may be attributed to prosperous conditions and the psychological effect of the war. . . . These changes are most probably temporary, and will not greatly affect the long-term trend toward a static and declining population.”

If natural increase, then, will not keep our population up, it is obvious that we have but one move left if we want to remain alive as a nation. We must have immigration; we must have more immigration than the present quota-system allows. Under that system 154,000 quota immigrants may enter this country annually. The National Committee on Immigration Policy, using as its source a study made by the National Resources Planning Board, estimates that it would take an annual immigration of 300,000 “to have our population continue its growth to the end of the century.” With an annual immigration of only 150,000, the year 2000 would still see the beginning of a population decline; actual growth in population could be obtained only with an annual immigration of 450,000. This can be seen clearly in the following table:

Years	With Immigration of 150,000 a year	With Immigration of 300,000 a year	With Immigration of 450,000 a year
1950	144,396,000	144,896,000	145,396,000
1960	153,355,000	155,064,000	156,773,000
1970	160,494,000	163,546,000	166,598,000
1980	165,358,000	169,810,000	174,262,000
1990	167,096,000	172,983,000	178,870,000
2000	166,631,000	173,842,000	181,053,000

The question now obviously arises: but how much population growth do we need or can we stand? Can we go on getting more and more people into our boundaries

until the seams burst? Of course not. But it is a fact that we can support a much larger population than we are likely to have for many a generation. The United States has a mere 259 persons per square mile of arable land; Great Britain has 2,421. Perhaps that higher number would not be the optimum population concentration for the United States, but neither is our present 259.

What is the optimum population for this country? In theory it is the “number of people which, at any given period, under a specific system of technology and with existing natural resources, would create the maximum standard of living for the population as a whole.” Estimates of the actual number vary with the different experts who make the assessment. The Department of Agriculture in 1923, using the Germany of that day as a yardstick, “estimated that a population of 350 million would be possible in the United States, but then, applying this estimate to the American standard of living, reduced the figure to about 300 million.” The lowest estimate has been given at 200 million. Under our present immigration policy we shall never reach it; we shall never reach the goal of the optimum between under-population and over-population. Consequently, we shall never reach the potential standard of living that could be ours in reality, for, as the report succinctly says: “It is easy to demonstrate that our production capacity and our standard of living have risen rather than fallen with the increase of population.”

Now, this thinking of population experts today is a most significant swing away from earlier convictions that held the field. (And it may be remarked in passing, for the assurance of those who think future estimates like the above are a lot of wild guess-work, that statisticians today are remarkably accurate in their forecasts. They missed, for example, predicting the 1940 national

census results of 131,669,275 by a small 150,000.)

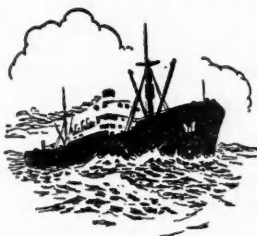
Not only does such objective study have relevance to the current debate on the admission of DP’s to the United States in large numbers; it also furnishes scientific facts which ought to

give pause to advocates of birth control.

This latter aspect of the report we have here examined will be taken up later. To give a hint as to the line of approach, let me close this section with a statement from the body of the report of the National Committee on Immigration Policy:

The specter of over-population conjured up by Malthus at the end of the eighteenth century has given way to the fear of under-population, at least as far as European civilization and its offshoots are concerned.

Some years ago (1927) rather classic expression of fears of over-population was given in Edward A Ross’ *Standing Room Only?* Sociological thought is now coming around to hold that there are too many empty seats. Malthus is certainly dead; more of this new thought may at last get him buried.



What is the Taft-Hartley Act?

Benjamin L. Masse

A "paradise for lawyers"—one observer's comment on the Taft-Hartley Act—indicates the public confusion with regard to the bill. To help readers form a better idea of its exact meaning, Father Masse here presents a classified summary of its main provisions and administration.

Probably the easiest way to understand the Taft-Hartley Act is to consider it against the background of the abuses it is supposed to correct.

Over the past twelve years our national labor policy has been criticized under three heads:

1. It was alleged that the Wagner Act was unfair because: a) it placed obligations exclusively on employers; b) it made the National Labor Relations Board prosecutor, judge and jury.

2. It was charged that labor leaders were able to exercise dictatorial power by virtue of various types of "union security," that they used union funds for political purposes, that financial abuses abounded, that the rights of the rank-and-file worker and union member were not adequately safeguarded.

3. It was pointed out that the public was not sufficiently protected against major breakdowns in labor-management relations.

UNFAIRNESS OF THE WAGNER ACT

The Taft-Hartley Act radically amends the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act. While continuing and expanding the list of unfair practices forbidden to employers, it specifies also a number of practices which are henceforth deemed to be unfair when engaged in by unions. Thus, unions are forbidden:

1. To "coerce" employees in the exercise of their rights to join or not join a union as they see fit;

2. To "coerce" an employer in the choice of a representative for the purpose of collective bargaining or the settlement of grievances;

3. To cause an employer to force an employee to join a labor organization, except in the case where a union shop has been legally established;

4. To refuse to bargain collectively with an employer whose employees a union is certified to represent;

5. To engage in secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes;

6. To cause employers to pay for work not performed (feather-bedding);

7. To terminate a contract without having first served notice on the employer sixty days prior to the expiration date; or without having notified the Federal Mediation Service (which will be described later in this article) that a dispute exists, in the event that no agreement has been reached with the employer after thirty days of negotiations.

In all unfair labor practice cases, employers and employees can petition the National Labor Relations Board to seek an injunction. In all cases the Board may ask for an injunction on the issuance of a complaint and before a trial is held; in cases involving secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes, it is mandatory upon the Board

to seek an injunction *even before the complaint has been issued.*

Both unions and employers can file damages against each other for violation of contracts committed by their agents. (Unions can sue unions, too.) It will be no excuse to allege that the acts complained of were not authorized or were subsequently disowned. Judgments are not enforceable against individual union members.

In addition to this list of unfair labor practices on the part of unions, the new act attempts to remove the inequities which were alleged to have grown out of the very composition of the National Labor Relations Board. Toward this end it institutes a rigid separation of the judicial function of the Board from its functions of investigator and prosecutor. Under the Taft-Hartley Act the General Counsel, who is appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has final authority (that is, not subject to the Board or to the courts) over the investigation and prosecution of unfair labor practice charges. Furthermore, he exercises jurisdiction over all lawyers of the Board (except those serving as legal assistants to Board members) and over the officers and employees of the regional offices. The Board, whose membership is increased from three to five, is reduced to a strictly judicial capacity. The powers of the General Counsel are so sweeping and unrestricted that commentators are aptly referring to him as the "czar of industrial relations."

INTERNAL ABUSES OF UNIONS

Since the closed shop, because of the power it gives labor leaders, is widely regarded as the source of many evils within unions, it is simply outlawed, even though about thirty per cent of all organized employees are presently working under closed-shop contracts. The union shop, which the legislators considered to be only slightly less objectionable than the closed shop, is sharply restricted. Before an employer can agree to a union shop, a majority of the employees eligible to vote must favor it, not merely a majority of those actually voting. If the union should discriminate against an employee by denying him membership on the same terms open to others, or if it should expel him from the union for any reason other than the non-payment of dues or initiation fees, he retains full rights to his job. If the employer should discharge him, or otherwise discriminate against him for non-membership in the union, he would commit an unfair labor practice.

An important aid to union security, the check-off of dues by the employer, is likewise circumscribed. Under penalty of paying a \$10,000 fine or spending a year in jail, or both, the employer is not permitted to check off dues unless the individual union member has given his

permission in writing. (The employer is liable to a similar penalty should he contribute to a union welfare fund unless the benefits are specifically stated in writing; the accounts are subject to annual audit and he is equally represented with the union in the administration of it.)

Over and above these general limitations on the power of union officials, the Act requires on their part a whole series of actions designed to protect the rights of rank-and-file members. Before a union is eligible to enjoy the privileges of the Act, it must file with the Secretary of Labor a copy of its constitution and by-laws together with a report showing:

1. The names, titles, compensation and allowances of its three chief officers and of any other officials whose total compensation the preceding year amounted to more than \$5,000;

2. The manner in which the officers and agents of the union are elected or appointed;

3. The initiation fee required from new members;

4. The regular dues which members have to pay to remain in good standing;

5. A detailed statement of the provisions in its constitution and by-laws showing the procedure followed with respect to qualifications for or restrictions on membership, election of officers, calling of regular and special meetings, levying of assessments, imposition of fines, authorization for bargaining demands, ratification of contract terms, authorization for strikes, authorization for disbursement of union funds, audit of union financial statements, participation in insurance or other benefit funds, and expulsion of members and the grounds therefor.

Nor is this all. The Board will not listen to a union until it has filed with the Secretary of Labor a complete financial report covering the last fiscal year and can show that it has furnished copies of said report to all its members. Finally, every officer of the union, including every official of the international with which it is affiliated, must file an affidavit with the Board that "he is not a member of the Communist party or affiliated with such party, and that he does not believe in and is not a member of or supports any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods."

Perhaps this is the logical place, too, to mention the provisions of the Act relating to the political activities of unions. By an amendment to the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, unions are forbidden (so are national banks and any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress), under penalty of a fine not to exceed \$5,000, "to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election at which Presidential and Vice Presidential electors or a Senator or Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, Congress are to be voted for, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for any of the foregoing offices." Any labor official who consents to a violation of this law shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than a year, or both. This provision will virtually muzzle the labor press.

PROTECTION FOR THE PUBLIC

The Taft-Hartley Act states that stable industrial peace can most satisfactorily be achieved by the settlement of issues through collective bargaining, and that this process can be advanced "by making available full and adequate governmental facilities for conciliation, mediation and voluntary arbitration." To take care of the Government's function, the Act creates an independent agency called the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, to which are transferred all mediation and conciliation functions of the Secretary of Labor and of the United States Conciliation Service. The Service can offer its good offices in any dispute which affects commerce, either on its own motion or by request of one of the parties to the dispute. If conciliation fails, the Director of the Service is authorized to induce the parties to seek other means to bring about a peaceful solution, "including submission to the employees in the bargaining unit of the employer's last offer of settlement for approval or rejection in a secret ballot."

To assist the Service, a National Labor-Management Panel is constituted, composed of twelve members appointed by the President and equally representative of labor and management. At the request of the Director of the Service, the Panel will give advice on the best way to avoid controversies affecting the general welfare.



As was mentioned above, thirty days before the expiration of a contract, if no agreement has been reached on a new contract, the employer and the union are required to notify the Service and accept assistance in settling the dispute. Should an employe strike during this time, he loses his status of employe, together with his

rights under the Taft-Hartley Act. These are restored only in the event he is rehired by his employer.

For paralysis strikes, that is, strikes which "imperil the national health or safety," the Act establishes a special and detailed procedure.

The first step in the procedure is taken by the President. Whenever he believes that a threatened or actual strike endangers the national health or safety, he is directed to appoint a board of inquiry to investigate the dispute and to make a report to him of the issues involved. The report must contain no recommendations and is to be made public.

The President, on receiving the report, may take a second step. He may direct the Attorney General to petition any Federal district court having jurisdiction over the parties to the dispute to enjoin the strike, or the continuing thereof.

The third step is up to the court. If it finds that the threatened or actual strike affects an entire industry engaged in interstate commerce, or a substantial part of such an industry, and if it finds furthermore that the strike if permitted to occur or continue imperils the na-

tional health or safety, it may enjoin the strike and issue such other orders as may be appropriate, the Norris-LaGuardia Act to the contrary notwithstanding. The order of the court shall be subject to review by higher courts.

At this stage in the procedure two things happen: labor and management are supposed to make every effort to adjust their differences with the assistance of the Service, and the President reconvenes the Board of Inquiry to keep him advised of the progress of the negotiations.

If the dispute has not been settled at the end of sixty days, the Board reports to the President the current position of the parties and efforts made to reach an agreement. The report will include a statement of its position by each party and a statement of the employer's last offer. This report will also be made available to the public.

Enters now the National Labor Relations Board. Within fifteen days of the end of the sixty-day period, the Board is directed to take a secret ballot of the employees of each employer involved in the dispute, for the purpose of learning whether they wish to accept his final offer. Within five days the Board will certify the result to the Attorney General.

Upon certification of the result (or in the event of a settlement) the Attorney General shall move the court to discharge the injunction, which motion will be granted.

After the granting of this motion, the President must submit to Congress a comprehensive report of the proceedings, together with any recommendations he may see fit to make. Naturally, once the injunction has been discharged, the workers are free to strike, or continue the strike that may have been thus interrupted for eighty days.

OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

Besides these provisions there are other clauses in the Act which do not fall clearly into any of the above categories. Government employees are forbidden to strike under penalty of losing their jobs, forfeiting civil-service status and becoming ineligible for reemployment in government service for a period of three years. The right of supervisory employees to organize is not recognized, and there is no obligation on the part of employers to bargain with unions of foremen. Agricultural employees are likewise excluded from the protection of the law, as are persons engaged in domestic service. In every representation case the Labor Board shall decide what is the appropriate bargaining unit, but in the event that the proposed unit includes both non-professional and professional (very broadly defined) employees, the Board may not put them together unless the professional employees vote for inclusion. Even though a union has been recognized as a bargaining agent, the employer is free to adjust the grievances of an individual employee or a group of employees without the intervention of the union, provided that the adjustment is not inconsistent with the terms of the contract and the union has been given an opportunity to be present at such adjustment.

In two respects, it should be noted, the new law opposes a natural trend toward industry-wide collective

bargaining: it forbids a union to "coerce" an employer in the choice of a collective-bargaining representative (which leaves him free from union pressure to join or not join a group or association of employers in negotiating a master contract, as he sees fit); it stipulates that in the event of a threatened paralysis strike affecting an entire industry, or a substantial part of it, the Labor Board must submit the last offer of every employer to his employees for their acceptance or rejection. But beyond this, there is no limitation on industry-wide bargaining.

Finally, the Act liberalizes the employer's right to free speech and grants him a more generous opportunity to petition for an election and to question the union's right to represent his employees than he enjoyed under the Wagner Act.

To conduct a thorough study of the whole field of labor-management relations, as well as the operation of Federal labor laws, the Act creates a joint congressional committee of fourteen members, seven from the Senate and seven from the House. This committee is ordered to report the results of its investigation to the Congress not later than March 15, 1948.

Such in broad outline is the Taft-Hartley Act, described by one observer as "hell for unions, purgatory for management and paradise for lawyers." Exactly what many of its clauses mean will not be known until the Supreme Court interprets them—which will be a matter of years. It was two years before the Wagner Act really became operative, its constitutionality having been widely questioned by employers. It may take somewhat longer to clarify obscure and dubious passages of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Looking forward

Any time you come home is a good time; and we therefore presume that even at one-thirty tomorrow morning a livelier iris will shine upon the burnished dove, if there happens to be one around LaGuardia Field when TWA Flight 947 from Paris deposits our wandering Editor-in-Chief after his two-months' tour of Europe. Father LaFarge has visited Rome, Paris, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Coblenz, Munich, Offenbourg and Baden, winding up with a trip to England. Like our readers, we are looking forward Father LaFarge's European impressions.

It is pretty near a year now since Congress took some of the sand out of its gears by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Next week Father Robert C. Hartnett lifts the hood to take a peek at the congressional machinery. He finds that "the job is more than half done," and suggests finishing it.

"Oh, what a beautiful morning!" In Oklahoma, that is; where a wonderful teen-age Catholic convention was held last month. Everything may not precisely be coming their way at the moment; but the young Catholics of Oklahoma are by no means downhearted. Walter J. Burghardt will tell all about it next week in "Catholic Youth in Oklahoma."

Literature & Art

The plum cluster

Albert Eisele

The farmer, David W. Hubbard, was stubborn, but the nursery agent was persistent and clever.

"Just let me show you—it'll take only a second—this plum special that I'm offering for today," said the agent. "Now here are six varieties of plums—the fruit is all pictured here, as you well can see—and I'm selling two trees each of these six varieties to form what we call a cluster. A cluster makes a beautiful little orchard all by itself, a plum orchard, of six different varieties, with one variety coming early, the next one a few days later, and the other varieties ripening one after the other, so that you begin enjoying freshly-ripened plums in the summer and keep on eating freshly-ripened plums right up till frost. Just think of that!"

"Well, it would be nice to have a few plums, I'll admit. Put me down for two plum trees, then."

"Oh, but Mr. Hubbard, I wouldn't sell you two plum trees! Let me tell you something! You buy one plum tree, the birds get it. You buy two plum trees, the birds get one and you get one. You buy three plum trees, the birds get one and you get two. You buy four plum trees, the birds get one and you get three, and so on and so forth until—you buy a cluster of plum trees, and the birds get one and you get eleven!"

"You're a smooth one, but I'll tell you what I'll do—you get the birds to pay for their one tree and I'll pay for the eleven! You're a good sport—now take me up on that!"

"I will, Mr. Hubbard. I'll take the order for the cluster of twelve."

"But you can't! The birds haven't paid for their one tree!"

"They don't have to pay until next April, when the order is shipped."

"Yes, I know, but . . . but, the birds won't pay you next spring, either!"

"Mr. Hubbard, how can you say that? I trust you, I trust the birds. Come now, you're a good sport yourself—we'll make out the order for a cluster of twelve plum trees, two trees each of six different varieties—and where do you get your express, Mr. Hubbard?"

"Bradford, but now you look here. . . ."

"Just sign on this line, Mr. Hubbard . . . that's a rotten pen, I apologize for it. Thank you, Mr. Hubbard. Now tell me, who lives at the next place, with the white silo?"

The plum cluster arrived in the following April, and Mr. Hubbard went to the depot to get it. He had to

scratch a little in order to pay for the shipment, because his wife had just used up most of his ready cash in sending for her usual spring hat. Six or seven other farmers, most of them with kindly and optimistic faces, were at the depot loading their individual orders, for the agent had shipped everything in one batch. Some of the men had only small bundles, hardly more than hobo-size, but others drove away with a rear car-window turned down and tips of trees protruding. Uptown, where Mr. Hubbard stopped to do some shopping, he saw so many young trees sticking out of car-windows and car-trunks that he thought everybody had been to church and gotten a big palm or something.

Reaching home, he set to work planting his plum cluster, digging the holes in three rows of four holes each. A booklet of instructions that came with the shipment said: "Don't cramp the roots—make the hole large enough," but the ground spaded easily, having been well loosened by the spring rains and warm sun. In a nearby field the Hubbard dog buried a bone and departed; a few minutes later a pig came along and uprooted the bone. Easily buried, easily dug up again, said Mr. Hubbard to himself as he paused to take off his coat and roll up his shirt-sleeves.

"You're the first man I've seen this year with his sleeves rolled up!" called Mrs. Hubbard from the kitchen door.

"Next year we'll have plums!" said Mr. Hubbard. "The man said so!"

By the time the cluster was all planted and tamped down, Mr. Hubbard was quite fatigued, his muscles being still soft from the winter's comparative lull, and when he got out his jackknife and began pruning back the branches ("Don't be afraid—prune severely," the booklet said) he couldn't help but think how much easier it would all have been had he been able to prune back, not the branches, but the roots. Even as it was, this pruning filled him with an exultant sense of ownership, in addition to making him feel that he was now a full-fledged orchardist.

Some days later the spring hat arrived, and Mrs. Hubbard put it on and said to her husband: "How does it look?"

"Terrible," said he.

The cluster grew like a weed patch. Not one of the trees died and in the fall Mr. Hubbard removed the small wooden identification tags, because the fine wires were cutting into the expanding bark. He could still read the names on the tags: "Early Purple," "Nelson's Medium," etc., but he threw the tags away because in an orchard for home use this made little difference. There were six varieties of plums, two trees of each, some were early, some medium and some late. Plums would ripen

in the summer and keep on ripening until frost—that was the thing that mattered.

Mr. Hubbard could hardly wait for the following spring. Scattered throughout his maple grove were a few willow trees, and these leafed out first, looking from a short distance like clouds of green gnats. The plum cluster came into leaf, and one morning Mr. Hubbard was overjoyed to find that two trees stood arrayed in white. Several days later two more stood white and, in this manner, like altar boys streaming into the sanctuary on a feast day, the young plum trees came into blossom, two by two.

Mrs. Hubbard also blossomed out—in her new spring hat.

The plum blossoms died away, and one day Mr. Hubbard went out to inspect the branches. Something had gone wrong. There were no plums.

That fall the agent came around again, calling on all his old customers as was his habit, to make replacements if necessary and to take new orders, and Mr. Hubbard complained to him about his lack of fruit.

"Ah!" said the agent, "but no one got any plums this year! There was too much rain during blossoming time! It's not a plum year! Be patient, and one of these summers you are going to have bushels of plums!"

And the next spring Mr. Hubbard found himself impatient again. The snow went away in February, but March was cold, and it was not until April when the first pocket gopher threw up its mounds—four in number, all very black and all in a row—in the alfalfa field. Spring was here; but the next morning snow was falling. Mr. Hubbard looked out and saw that the four black mounds were touched delicately with white on the northward side. The snow fell all day, but birds chirped and sang even while the snow fell, and a few days later the snow was all gone and the plum trees were beginning to leaf.

A little later the first two plum trees blossomed, with the others coming in at later intervals, two by two. Mrs. Hubbard got her usual spring hat, which Mr. Hubbard said looked even worse than the one she had had last year.

By mid-summer most of the plum trees were loaded with green plums, but once more Mr. Hubbard's hopes were dashed, for the plums began dropping off. Disfigured by black holes from which gum oozed, the plums fell off until all the branches were bare.

"Did you spray?" asked the agent that fall, when again Mr. Hubbard complained about the lack of fruit.

"Why no, I didn't spray," said Mr. Hubbard.

"Good Lord, you didn't spray? Then how can you expect plums if you didn't spray?"

"My father raised lots of plums, and he never sprayed!"

"Times have changed. New diseases and new insects have come in since then. If you want plums you've got to spray. Do you expect to get things for nothing in this world? Go buy yourself a sprayer, read up on spraying and follow instructions, and I'll guarantee that one of these days you'll be in plums up to your neck. Don't be afraid to spray!"

"Don't be afraid to spray!" repeated Mr. Hubbard. "Don't be afraid to prune! Don't be afraid to dig the hole big enough! It takes a he-man to raise plums!"

That winter a terrific snowstorm buried the plum cluster beneath the drifts. Of some trees only a few twigs were visible. A thaw, followed by cold weather, converted the top of the drifts into ice, which threatened to drag all the plum trees to earth. Mr. Hubbard got his pick-axe and shovel and began digging his orchard out. Breaking away the hard and dirty crusts he found that the branches underneath were encompassed with the white of purest snow. Already a few branches had broken under the weight, and these Mr. Hubbard tossed sadly aside. Never again would they be clothed in white.

The snowdrifts melted and the plum cluster reappeared, here and there a little damaged, but primarily intact and ready to produce those bushels of plums for which Mr. Hubbard yearned. Remembering the agent's advice Mr. Hubbard bought a spraying outfit; it was a hand-sprayer. Next he obtained a government bulletin on the subject, and he learned that the stone fruits were usually sprayed four times: first, just before the flower buds opened; second, when three-fourths of the petals had fallen; third, when the fruit was no more than one-fourth inch in diameter; fourth, about two weeks before the harvest. "The effectiveness of spraying," said the bulletin, "depends largely on the accurate timing of the spray applications, and persistence in following a spray program." It didn't sound too difficult. This year he would have plums.

The spring was backward that year, and Mr. Hubbard examined his plum trees every day, to see if the flower buds were ready to open. Then he started planting his corn, and it was while he was engaged in this important work that he was dismayed one morning to find that the two earliest plum trees had blossomed. Mr. Hubbard ran for his sprayer, then realized that it was too late. He should have done the first spraying before the buds opened.

He swore that he would catch the next two trees. They would blossom several days later, and he would be ready for them. He was. He sprayed them just before the flower buds opened. Then he examined the first two trees, but saw that only a few petals had fallen. That was too bad. The second spray was not to be applied until after three-fourths of the petals had fallen.

He became engrossed again with his corn-planting, and the little pigs were being farrowed just then, and the cows were calving, and so he woke up one morning to find that not only had all the petals fallen from the first two trees, but that the third pair stood forth in a beautiful but unsprayed white!

Alas, too late Mr. Hubbard recognized the trap that had engulfed him. Had the twelve plum trees been identical in variety he could have sprayed them all at once and been done with it. But he had six different varieties, and in his spraying operations he was now dealing with the equivalent of six different orchards.

Nevertheless, he heroically attempted to spray his plum cluster according to directions. Mornings he ran with his sprayer, noons he ran with it, evenings he ran. Usually

he could spray only two trees at a time, and that meant that he always had to mix up a new batch of spray and, after using it, wash out the sprayer, because the bulletin said that the sprayer should always be washed out on account of the corrosive action of the chemicals.

Back and forth Mr. Hubbard ran with his sprayer: before the flower buds opened; when three-fourths of the petals had fallen; when the fruit was about the size of a pea. He had horrible dreams in which the white plum petals fluttered down upon him endlessly, endlessly; he fought these petal drifts that smothered him, and once he fell out of bed. When the petals had fallen. Before

the flower buds opened. When the fruit was less than one-fourth inch in diameter. He began to look haggard; he lost weight, and one noon, as he came in from the field, he noted with despair that the sixth and final pair of plum trees had burst into unsprayed splendor.

When he came into the house his wife, who had been to town that morning, said to him: "My dear, I've waited a while to get my spring hat, the season being so late, but here is the hat at last! How do you like it?"

"Those blossoms on it," said Mr. Hubbard in faltering tones, "... what are they?"

"Plum blossoms! Don't you like them?"

Books

Great political journalist

HORACE GREELEY AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

By Jeter A. Isely. Princeton University Press. 334pp. \$4.50

This third volume of the Princeton Studies in History, while a very thorough and scholarly study of Greeley's part in helping to organize the Republican Party, will hardly have much appeal for the average reader. The author did not intend his study to be a biography of the eccentric editor of the *Tribune*, nor even a complete account of his journalistic activities and influence; he confines himself to the brief period between 1854 and 1861 and stresses Greeley's efforts to weld together a new anti-slavery party from the discordant elements of Free Soilers, Nativists, Prohibitionists, Whigs, Anti-Slavery Democrats and the like, which were springing up all over the North and West due to the disintegration of the old regular parties.

As clever a propagandist as he was impractical a politician, Horace Greeley tirelessly exerted the immense influence he wielded through the New York *Tribune* to strengthen and organize the anti-slavery cause. It is not easy for us today to realize how powerful a force he was in forming public opinion, for the *Tribune* was the only paper in those days of more than local significance. It was widely read throughout New England and the West, where its pronouncements, opinions and policies were accepted as gospel by thousands.

A sincere opposition to the extension of slavery was the one principle to which Greeley remained true during a long career of political expediency, an

opposition rooted in the belief that slavery was not only evil in itself but was also harmful to the well-being of the white laborer of the North and the Western farmer, the two groups he considered the foundation of the nation's greatness and prosperity.

Such burning questions as the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Dred Scott decision, furnished unlimited ammunition for his campaign as he relentlessly hammered away at the task of uniting and organizing the opposition into a definite political party. The conflicting interests and deep-rooted animosities of these groups, which would have appalled any practical politician, did not discourage Greeley. Even the opposition of his long-time political partners, Sumner and Weed, who in 1854 were not yet ready to risk smashing the New York Whig machine and setting up a new organization, could not deter him. By soft-pedaling and compromising every policy and issue except the rallying point of slavery, he gradually made headway, and the new party, which was known as Republican, began to emerge as a recognizable political force.

But his very success was Greeley's undoing. As soon as the political movement showed signs of vitality the professional politicians took over, forced him into the background; and the inevitable result of the bitter anti-Southern campaign was the disastrous war which, as an ardent pacifist, he had been all along trying to prevent. The South was the one section of the country he had never visited and did not know; his naive belief that the South would never fight, that the non-slave-owning majority were loyal to the Union and would revolt against their leaders, never wavered until blown to bits by the bombardment of Fort Sumter. And it was the incessant repetition of these beliefs in the columns of the *Tribune* which greatly helped to in-

crease the misunderstanding and tension between the sections until an explosion was inevitable.

This account of Greeley's activities as a political journalist should prove of interest not only to historians but to newspapermen as well, for the author gives an excellent study of the power of the press in forming public opinion and shaping the nation's destiny.

F. J. GALLAGHER

Peace for penitents

PARDON AND PEACE

By Alfred Wilson, C.P. Sheed and Ward. 257p. \$2.50

The books men write during wartime are not all indignant propaganda. In bombed London Father Wilson wrote this one about the Sacrament of Penance, yet it contains scarcely a hint of any issue other than the relation of one's self to God in that war- or peacetime phenomenon of Catholic life, "going to confession."

Pardon and Peace is written for penitents, not confessors, and for lay people rather than religious or clerics. Starting from the natural psychological value of confession of guilt in confidence to another, whether sacramentally or otherwise, the author considers how God *might* have restricted and limited forgiveness instead of granting it on easy terms such as we now enjoy. He treats briefly the few essentials of a necessary confession and then goes on to devotional confessions, showing the tonic value of seeking forgiveness even for venial sins. The reader is duly warned against over-emphasis on mere examination of conscience, or on "preparing the brief," and then given three chapters of searching introduction to self-knowledge. The third is for periodic overhaul, to "help in the work of ambushing self-deceit," rather than in preparing for immediate confession.

*This Month's
issue of*

The Catholic MIND *(the July number)*

features the following articles, reprinted from the world press. None of these important and readable pieces is abbreviated or digested; you get the full text, fileable for easy reference.

AMERICAN COMMUNISM

J. Edgar Hoover

Statement before the House Committee on Un-American Activities

THE NATIONALIZATION OF PROPERTY

Arthur Dalton

Reprinted from "Hibernia"

PHILIPPINES IN PEACE AND WAR

John F. Hurley, S.J.

MISSIONARIES TO THE PROLETARIAT

John B. Ebel

OCCUPATION AND REHABILITATION

Magda Polivanov

CHRISTIAN MIDDLE WAY

Paul Crane, S.J.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S RULE

Thomas P. Purcell, O.S.A.

and

CHRISTIAN REBIRTH

*the January address of the Holy Father
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CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

The preceding two treat the problems of those who can find "nothing to tell," or distrust God's mercy, or are scrupulous, or just plain safe-siders, or who neglect to face their faults for fear of losing self-respect, or "have adapted the commandments to their own convenience, and whittled down their obligations to more sizable proportions."

Of course Fr. Wilson has in mind an audience of Catholic readers, but more than once the wish arises that others too might read his book. Most likely they would be stunned to find so much thought upon the subject, but they certainly could not miss its challenge to honest self-examination, nor fail to marvel at the Catholic concept of the practical mercy of God.

There is a very important chapter on the nature of conscience (a practical moral judgment) and the absolute need for its correction by comparison with the objective teaching of the Church, no matter how long one may have been a Catholic or how conservative or how modern one's personal views. Repentance is distinguished from remorse; feelings, phobias and bogeys are shown in their true light; for those who know they will fall again, there is sane common-sense wisdom, well summarized in the story of the child's resolutions: "I will hardly ever. . ." do it again. You needn't worry: Fr. Wilson *does* touch your problem. And you needn't fear that the book is rather what it claims to prevent—a butchery of consciences. God-centered, not self-centered confessions will be the result of it, and pardon and peace. Like the sacrament itself, it is medicinal, and medicines are not usually taken in quarts. A chapter at a time, read with personal application, will produce the best results.

Conference masters and preachers will discover in it excellent hints for talks, and confessors will find it pastorally helpful even though they are long past the stage of *neo-confessarius*. Undoubtedly they have many ideas of their own, but it is well from time to time to compare notes with another experienced director of souls, if only to recall and shape one's own observations. A lay retreat house ought to have copies of the book where retreatants can readily find it, or be directed to specific sections. Although penitents read nothing else, every priest will desire them to read the chapter: "Inside the Sacred Tribunal."

RALPH B. GEHRING, S.J.

Security and refreshment

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

By Giuseppe Ricciotti. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia. Bruce. 703p. \$7.50

This new Life will be welcomed by the student for its clear and concise treatment of gospel problems, and by the general reader for its delightfully fresh presentation of the material. The author is Abbot and Procurator General of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, professor of Oriental Christian History at the University of Rome, and editor and director of the new Italian *Catholic Encyclopedia*. He already has a goodly list of scholarly works to his credit, and among them those most closely related to the present book are his *History of Israel*, *St. Paul the Apostle* and *Flavius Josephus*. The thoroughness of his workmanship may be judged from the Introduction, over two hundred pages long, in which he examines the background of Jewish history, thought and customs, the physical environment in which Jesus lived, the arguments for the credibility of the gospels, and gives a convincing refutation of rationalistic criticism in the various stages of its history.

In the Life itself he wisely lets the gospel text speak directly to the reader, but he illustrates it and explains it with a wealth of erudition that brings a feeling of security and refreshment. With each episode there is given also some hint, and at times a rather full treatment, of the false explanations attempted by the critics in their efforts to discredit the sacred narrative. Where problems still confront Catholic exegetes, the author carefully balances the probable solutions and, while clearly announcing his own preferences, concedes that other solutions may retain their value. In such obscure matters it could not be expected that he would always reach a decision pleasing to everybody, but all must acknowledge that he gives solid reasons for his own preference. In St. Peter's famous profession of faith (p. 405) too much emphasis seems to be given to "Christ," to the obscuring of "the Son of the living God." Again, in the discourse at the Last Supper, the emphasis placed on the new commandment of love crowds out any special notice of what Jesus then said about the coming of the Holy Spirit.

The translator is to be highly commended for giving a worthy rendition of this scholarly work.

WILLIAM A. DOWD, S.J.

AMERICAN POLICY AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1925-1928

By Dorothy Borg. American Institute of Pacific Relations, and Macmillan. 440p. \$5

China in the years from 1925 to 1928 saw historic changes. The Kuomintang party extended its military and political control from Canton up the length of the land to Peiping. A national unity began to replace the war-lord regimes. The Kuomintang became less of an omnibus. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek broke with the extreme leftists in 1927 because, he said, they were jeopardizing China's welfare to promote the aims of the Comintern.

Meanwhile the foreign Powers, upon American initiative, turned away at last from concerted "gunboat diplomacy." In the Nanking Incident of 1927 the Chinese offered the Powers the same sort of provocation to punitive military measures upon which they had repeatedly acted during the previous eighty years. Four of the Powers urged America to join them in threats of military reprisals. Apparently from sincere conviction, Secretary of State Kellogg laid down an independent policy of benevolent inaction. He recommended forbearance towards the Chinese nation emerging in turmoil from discord and irresponsibility. The other countries came finally to accept Kellogg's lead in patience and watchful waiting; the policy, so much less spectacular than beligerence, soon proved to be successful.

Kellogg not only halted new aggressions; he took steps to loosen the semi-colonial fetters previously imposed. "He believed that a nation of four hundred million people could not be expected to submit to foreign control, and that such matters as extraterritoriality were awkward, old-fashioned pieces of machinery which no one could reasonably hope to maintain in a modern world." His tendency to renounce treaty and tariff privileges was a departure from America's "hitch-hiking imperialism" of the earlier Open-Door era. On-the-scene diplomats and business men generally opposed this program; missionaries, American editors and public opinion supported it.

Dorothy Borg, in the book under review, assembles much research material to illustrate the development of this American policy and its influence upon the course of events in China. She quotes copiously from State Department papers, from the declarations of missionaries and investors in China and from the contemporary American press.

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Translated by

LOUIS A. ARAND, S.S., S.T.D.

The present volume is the first separate edition in English of St. Augustine's so-called *Enchiridion*. Augustine himself refers to it as his work on "Faith, Hope, and Charity." The significance of this little book lies in the fact that here Augustine made the first attempt to give a systematic presentation of the principal doctrines of the faith. He discusses the fundamental question whether it is possible to grasp faith by reason and to what extent faith cannot be fathomed by human understanding. He finds the briefest formulation of Christian teaching and of Christian living in the triad: faith, hope, and charity. The Creed and the Lord's Prayer, both dear to the heart of every Christian, furnish the structure for the profound discussion which follows.

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Her work would have been clearer, and no less adequate, had she culled her data with a stricter sense of the relevant. Still she offers to students and historians of the Far East an instrument quite useful for judging some controverted issues of the period.

Some writers hostile to the Generalissimo charge or insinuate that he deserted the revolutionary program of Dr. Sun Yat-sen when his armies reached Shanghai in 1927. They claim that he was bought off either by the capitalist governments of the West, or by some Chinese lord of Shanghai's opium traffic. An analysis of Chiang's political tenets and of Dr. Sun's Three Principles reveals an almost excessive continuity between them. Miss Borg's book further removes any serious foundations for such malicious charges. It seems that in reality the Communists whipped up the Nanking anti-foreign violence at this juncture to provoke imperialist intervention and so to force an anti-Western program on the Kuomintang right wing. The United States policy, established more from fairness than from expediency, forestalled incendiary reprisals. Chiang, accordingly, was not embroiled, as the Comintern had hoped, by any false engagement of national honor. The Red intrigue backfired; its discovery made a purge of Reds from the Kuomintang as practicable as it was desirable. China, fortunately, is not beyond the reach of God's Providence.

CHARLES J. MCCARTHY

AGING SUCCESSFULLY

By *George Lawton.* Columbia University Press. 264p. \$2.75

Life may begin at forty—for some. But intimations of mortality make themselves felt soon after for people who are old before their time. That is the purely subjective side of the problem of old age; there are others as well. Old age is one of our spiraling problems. As a nation we are progressively growing older in years on the average, and the young are becoming relatively fewer. According to population trends manifest in the 1941 census, by 1980 there will be 60,000,000 people over forty-five years of age, whereas there will be only 38,000,000 Americans under twenty years. Today there are about 25,000,000 Americans over fifty. The contrast may seem ominous, but it calls for realistic facing of the problem of aging.

That is what the author tries to do in this book. Like many other concepts,

that of aging as a mere decline needs some distinction. There is physical impairment, but even that is something relative. The slowing-down of reaction times and sensory abilities should not condemn aging men or women to unemployment or inactivity, though it may well exclude them from hazardous tasks such as piloting a bomber. And, as a matter of fact, man's higher faculties of reason and will need show little impairment until the final break-up. Therein lie the emoluments of old age and maturity, and they must be capitalized. However, as Dr. Lawton observes, wisdom demands an apprenticeship and is not inevitable. There are old fools as well as wise old men.

Some of the pitfalls of old age are a closed mind, unwillingness to accept changes or new ideas (even hostility to them), retirement from life instead of devotion to some new interests. In other words, there is danger of stagnation. But none of these things needs to happen. Consolidation of interests does not mean rejection of the new because it is new. Old people who succumb have been heading that way for a lifetime.

But not all the faults are on the side of the old people. Youth abets these tendencies by scrapping the old because it is old, thereby stirring the old to intransigence. The younger generation expects the old to retire from life, to be inactive, to regress to the helplessness of childhood. Some will accept this while others rebel. No human being can live contentedly and successfully without some goal in life, without work and freedom to manage his life.

Such are the perennial problems of aging. But as the number of old people increases in this country and there are fewer young people to bear the physically hard burdens, the importance of providing rehabilitation or new skills for more older people, of making more of them self-supporting or spiraling taxes for pensions, becomes manifest. Psychologists point to the need of offering suitable recreation and education to the aged.

The titles of some of the chapters illustrate many of these points and problems—for example: "So you want to live long," "How old is 'old'?" "Old age minus and plus," "A woman grows older." Two chapters deserve special mention: "A Bill of Rights for the old" and "A philosophy of maturity." The latter shows some excellent insight, but is not illuminating on the role of religion in old age. **HUGH J. BIHLER**

FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY

By J. A. T. Lloyd. Scribner's. 324p. \$3

J. A. T. Lloyd's most recent in the current treatments of Dostoevsky in English is both a study and a biography. As biography it lacks the luminosity which distinguished M. Troyat's *Firebrand*. As a study it leans, perhaps too heavily, on the biographic, for the interpretation of a great writer's work in terms of his actual experience is a desperate hazard. Genius has a disconcerting habit of transcending its own personal world. Nevertheless, Mr. Lloyd has written always honestly and at times eloquently.

If the author has erred in trusting too much to biographic preface for illumination of Dostoevsky's artistic creations, it must be insisted, in all justice, that he rejects emphatically gossip prurience. Thus one of the best things in the book is the chapter entitled "The Dark Legend," in which the canard given currency by André Gide is effectively exploded. One is convinced often in the book that Mr. Lloyd's suffrage is with the angels, but never more so than when he writes witheringly of the "eager little souls only too willing to interpret the ulcers of fiction as the ulcers of fact in the life of a man of genius."

Such major fault as is to be found with *Fyodor Dostoevsky* lies in omission rather than commission. The external facts of the novelist's life are here. So, too, often accompanied with revealing comment, are the central figures of the great novels, the Raskolnikovs, the Svidrigailovs, the Sonyas, the Stavroguins, the Prince Mishkins, the Nastasyas, the Zosimas and the family Karamazov. But what was it that drove Dostoevsky to the creation of a fictional universe whose somber atmosphere is almost without relief, whose characters, even when they themselves are saintly, must live their lives in the midst of contagion? Why is it that his believers are, with rare exceptions, touched by skepticism, and his skeptics not without faith? Why did this great master of the naturalist tradition despise Zola?

The answers to these and other questions are not provided by Mr. Lloyd, nor in all probability will they be forthcoming in a book limited to the Dostoevsky legend. They will be found only after a patient study of the spiritual and intellectual state of nineteenth-century Russian culture and of its western counterpart. The influence of the latter even so confirmed a pan-Slav



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as Dostoevsky could not escape. To say this is to suggest that the definitive evaluation of Dostoevsky will be written by a critic who is at the same time a historian of ideas.

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY

WITHOUT SEEING THE DAWN

By Stevan Javellana. Little, Brown. 359p. \$2.75

Stevan Javellana, youthful citizen of the Philippine Republic, has written of his people in a first novel at once powerful and touching.

His story begins in a little village on the island of Panay before the war. We are introduced to the simple, likable villagers whose human idiosyncrasies make the American reader feel he knows them despite the strangeness of customs, speech and traditions. Carding, handsome young son of a farmer, is to be married to the beautiful Lucing. At the wedding feast everyone is full of joy in the young couple's happiness. From the morning freshness and hope of this scene, the mood of the novel runs through many changes. Both—first Lucing, then Carding—violate their marriage vows, but each time the injured partner forgives. Twice Carding, through no fault of his own, is deprived of the means of earning a living—once by an angry landlord, once by a flood. Patiently he starts again after each of these blows to provide a home for his wife and child.

But with the coming of the war, tragedy really strikes the little village. Darker and darker grows the night of horror which has succeeded the joyful day. While Carding is fighting in Bataan, his father and his child are killed, and his wife abused by the Japanese. After the surrender, he returns home and joins a local guerilla band. But he is changed and embittered. He who had forgiven his wife when she was guilty cannot forgive her now when she is guiltless. In a mad thirst for revenge he becomes a ruthless killer of suspected collaborators, even among his own kinsmen. His wife, enraged when he attempts to kill her child, bids him go away and never come back. But as the book ends, though the dawn of peace and deliverance for the Philippines is still to come, Carding and Lucing have won their own battles over themselves.

Though the merits of this book are outstanding, unfortunately its demerits are equally so, and must be mentioned first. As a result of excessive striving

for realism, the language is frequently coarse and vulgar; sex is overstressed and its manifestations unnecessarily detailed; torture and mutilation by the Japanese are described with nauseating thoroughness. This is the more regrettable since Mr. Javellana is capable of such beautiful writing—a compelling blend of strength and tenderness—and could so easily have told the same story without offensive passages.

A second fault, criticism of which is apt to sound hypocritical from one who has not endured what these Filipino people did, is the spirit of hatred and revenge ascribed to them by the author. At the grave of one of the victims of Japanese cruelty, he has the village school teacher cry: "Oh God, we swear that we will teach our children and those yet unborn to hate our enemies!" One after another of Mr. Javellana's characters expresses the same feelings—eternal hatred for the Japanese, revenge for the dead.



Natural as such feelings may have been under the circumstances, surely some of these deeply Christian people must have been able to feel as did Agnes Newton Keith, writer of another recent book, *Three Came Home*, who suffered torture and humiliation in a Japanese concentration camp. With her, hatred of war itself and what it does to men transcended the desire for revenge.

But, on the credit side, *Without Seeing the Dawn* introduces the people of America to the simple people of the Philippine *barrios*, whom our Catholic missionaries know so well, with, as the author puts it, "all their dear-ness and their faults." It is not only a well-constructed novel, but also a record of an indomitable, God-fearing people who through almost unbearable suffering remained undefeated in spirit, written by one who remembers "those who fell in the dark night," though he himself lived to see the dawn. It is to be hoped that Stevan Javellana will devote his undoubted literary gifts to producing other stories of his people in which the mistakes of this first novel will have been rectified.

MARY BURKE HOWE

THE GENTLE BUSH

By Barbara Giles. Harcourt, Brace. 552p. \$3.50

Tyranny and hypocrisy cannot long endure together without destroying the very power which sustains them. The plantation which had been founded by Charles Durel had, by the next generation, already begun to decay; but it remained for the period following the Civil War to bring about the final collapse.

This age was an epoch of imposture, a time when it was considered fashionable to speak of ideals, but unmanly to possess any. The law had finally admitted that the Negro was a human being but, in the South, the white man was the law. Women on the plantation were delicate creatures, who sat in lace dresses beneath the magnolia trees chatting of the latest Negro burned alive for a theft he "probably" committed, but cringing at the gossip that an overseer had kicked his dog. Cruelty, pride and a religious belief in superiority were the inherited rights of their vanishing empire.

For two generations the followers of Charles Durel lived this deceit, talking of honor they did not practise, of wealth they no longer possessed, until, like a poison, it ate into their lives and destroyed them. Then, gradually, there was a rebellion. The old hatreds and affectations were challenged by the great-grandchildren of the family and, although the rebellion was a success, it was costly, for one escaped in death, and two in sorrow.

The plot of *The Gentle Bush* is not so swift as to incite one to skip pages in his anxiety to discover what happens, but Barbara Giles has written this book so well that to skip a page would be a loss to the reader. Each incident is carved to perfection, and forms the exact image of what she wishes to portray.

Her characters not only maintain their naturalness throughout the book, but change and grow without losing their individuality. It has been said that an author's ability may be measured by his treatment of a death scene and, if this be true, Barbara Giles is a writer of considerable ability, for her description of the death of the young girl, Nicole, reminds one of the death of Jolyon Forsyte in Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*, which, though it preserved the essence of finality, held still the quiet beauty of the fading rose.

LORRAINE O'BRIEN

The Word

LIFE HAS OFTEN BEEN IMAGED as a house or mansion in which the various rooms represent man's departmentalized interests. Into one room he goes to work, into another to play, into a third to eat; and so each phase of his existence is symbolized. But it is a dangerous mistake to assign one room in that mansion to religion, thereby making the worship and love of God just one more concern of man, on a par with the rest. In the castle of life, religion is the foundation, the strength permeating each beam and stay; it is the walls, giving cohesion, unity and totality to disparate elements, enveloping and ennobling all within; it is the roof over all, protective and pointed towards God. Religion is an all-inclusive force, infiltrating and interpenetrating all of life's actions, motivating them properly, orienting them towards their First Cause and Final End.

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JOHN A. TOOMEY

Correspondence

Spanish succession

EDITOR: In your editorial, "Spanish succession" (June 21), you say: "Today, eleven years later, the Generalissimo proposes to give the Spanish people their first opportunity since February, 1936 of expressing themselves by ballot." In view of the Franco plan for the "referendum," I believe the basic sentence in your editorial is inadequate. The important facts that must be considered are:

1. In Franco's totalitarian regime, fundamental political liberties are still denied. There is no freedom of speech or assembly, no freedom to organize labor. The press and radio are controlled by the state. The "guarantee" of *habeas corpus* depends on the whim of the lowest police agent.

2. The Franquist Government itself, without any popular control, has prepared the "electoral census," or voting lists, for the "referendum." Opposition groups have to a large extent been eliminated from the list (American observers say that nearly 2,000,000 eliminations have been made).

3. The local election boards are appointed by the Franquist authorities; no neutral or opposition representatives may participate in supervision of the elections. After the voting, the ballots will be burned and, without any possibility of a check-up, falangist members of the local boards may report whatever results they wish.

4. Two ballot boxes will be placed at each election center—one for the ballots of persons considered "doubtful." In such doubtful cases, the supervisor will open the ballot and mark down the voter's name before depositing the ballot in the special box. This procedure is to intimidate the voters.

Franquist foresight goes even farther to ensure success. The "referendum" provides for no immediate alternative government. The people will still appear to accept the Franquist regime, whether the vote is yes or no. If, through "democratic inexperience," the falangist agents at the polls make a mistake in the computation of votes and the final results show a considerable number voting "no" on the law of succession, Franco will always be able to say: "You see, the people are satis-

fied with my regime; they do not care for regal trimmings. I am sufficient."

The Basque people, through the general strike organized in the beginning of May—the first successful general strike against a totalitarian regime—clearly showed they do not support the regime. We will now see what Franco wishes to say "by ballot" about our people.

I would change your editorial to read: "Now, eleven years later, Generalissimo Franco has organized the first show before the Spanish people to express himself in a typically totalitarian way, as he has been doing for the last eleven years."

Your editorial ends: "If Franco wishes really to show himself willing to abide by the popular will, he will give full opportunity for opposition groups to express themselves between now and the time of the referendum." "If Franco wishes . . ." Franco has clearly demonstrated by his conduct that he does not wish. That is the real problem for any democratic conscience.

ANTONIO DE IRLA

Basque Delegate to the U. S.

New York, N. Y.

Catholic teachers' salaries

EDITOR: In my depiction of the professor's plight (June 28) I do not accuse the administrative officers of the Catholic colleges. I state the fact. I do not know the way out; I merely feel that calling attention to the state of affairs may lead to action. Such action must come from those of the Catholic laity in a position to act as benefactors of the hard-pressed Catholic university. The religious community administering the Catholic university needs these benefactions as much as the lay professorate.

I should like to take this opportunity to exonerate the administrators of Catholic colleges and universities of blame for the economic plight of the lay teacher. These self-sacrificing men and women deserve praise for their work, not blame. Rescue must come from the Carnegies and Morgans among Catholics. Let us hope that they are listening.

VICTOR M. HAMM

Milwaukee, Wis.

Army directives on morals

EDITOR: For the past several months I have followed with interest the discussion which has gone on in your columns about Army versus morals.

I note in particular your lament over the dangers to which new enlistees will be exposed. In this connection it may prove helpful to mention several facts of which you may be unaware.

You have called attention to the Army's efforts to seal off the UMTEes from moral contamination, to the instruction on morality which is given to the members of this experimental unit. I am sure you will be pleased to learn that these same policies apply to the whole Army. A directive issued by the Secretary of War on January 24, 1947 outlines the Army's approach to the problems of troop morality.

In brief, Mr. Patterson's directive requires that all commanders impress moral responsibility on their troops and encourage strong self-discipline. To carry out this requirement, the Secretary orders that all personnel, who habitually give a bad example by their personal lives be eliminated from the service. He calls attention to the Army Regulation which requires that prostitution be rigorously suppressed at all times and places. The directive specifies that men who contract venereal disease will be denied pass privileges for a period of from 30 to 90 days.

The Chaplain is charged with the responsibility of giving—as part of the regular on-duty training program—a course of instruction on Morality and Citizenship. This course must be attended by all troops.

On the premise that an idle mind is the devil's workshop, Mr. Patterson stresses the necessity of developing an athletic program which is both wholesome and interesting at all military installations.

Appearing as it does over the Secretary's signature, the directive has maximum force. The policy outlined therein has been in effect for about six months. Results so far are good.

ALFRED C. LONGLEY, *Ch (Maj) USA*
Instructor, School of Personnel
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Fort Leavenworth, Kas.

The opinions expressed in Letters to the Editor represent the views of the writers and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Editors. AMERICA prefers short letters.

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